

PEACE NEWS

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ALDERSHOT, CANTON, BARCELONA



PAGEANTRY and . . .

PAGEANTS MUST NOT HIDE REALITY OF MODERN WARFARE

HERALDED by advance publicity in the press, and following closely upon the display of the Royal Air Force, the Army's annual show at Aldershot opened this week.

Tonight thousands of people will pack into the Rushmoor Arena to watch the Tattoo. Only in one item will they be shown anything at all related to modern war. For the remainder of the evening the knight in armour and his shining sword will be much in evidence.

This can only too easily hide the reality of modern war, for as Aldous Huxley points out in his book *Ends and Means*: "It is frequently in the interest of the rulers of a country to disguise the true facts of contemporary reality under thick veils of misleading verbiage."

Aldous Huxley also shows that to pretend that "the sword" is used today is absurd. We "must learn to translate this noble verbiage into the language of the present," for

Swords have played no appreciable part in war for the last 200 years. In 1914 Asquith's sword was high explosives and shrapnel, machine-guns, battleships, submarines.

In 1937 the "instrument of God for the protection of the people" was all the armaments existing in 1914 plus tanks, plus aeroplanes, plus thermite, plus phosphene, plus arsenic smokes, plus Lewisite and many other instruments of murder, more efficient and more indiscriminate than anything known in the past.

MASS MURDER, NOT PAGEANTRY

In June, 1938, we can add, the use of "the sword" involves murderous bombing of civilians. While holiday crowds were enjoying Whitsun sunshine bombers in Canton and Barcelona were killing thousands.

Perhaps even tonight, while at the Aldershot Tattoo the army is playing at war, the Japanese will be carrying out their threat of even heavier raids on Canton and Hankow.

Sharp protests against such raids have been made to Tokyo and Burgos by the British Government—but with little effect. The British Government has also suggested to other governments the dispatch of a small commission to Spain to declare whether or not attacked areas could properly be described as military objectives.

This proposal has had a fairly favourable reception in the USA, Sweden, and Republican Spain. Japan, Italy, and Nationalist Spain, however, have been critical and hostile. The German view, expressed in a leading article in the *Angriff*, was as follows:

England, with sweat running from her forehead from her exertions in building the most modern special bombers, has still found time to protest, in well-chosen words, to Burgos and Tokyo; the worthy British heart is bleeding over the bombing of towns in those countries . . . but Englishmen lose no sleep over the fact that, at the same moment, villages on the Indian North-West Frontier are serving as experimental targets for the enormous English production of explosive and incendiary bombs.

The *Times* attempted to disprove the *Angriff's* case.

"The aim, and the sole result," it said, of bombing on the North-West Frontier, "is the destruction of tribesmen's property in a certain selected village as a punishment for proved outrages . . . There can be no analogy between the careful and judicial operations of the RAF and the indiscriminate bombing" in China and Spain.

This, of course, ignored the difference

. . . REALITY



Courtesy, Daily Express.

in circumstances. But in any case Britain is building a huge bombing fleet for use in precisely the same way as those of General Franco or the Japanese. Every nation that is preparing for war today is ready to do the same. The only way to humanize war is to stop it altogether. Britain can show her desire to humanize war by scrapping those bombers.

Czechs Try To Solve Issue Left In 1919

THE Sudeten Germans, whose position in the Czech State is the occasion for the present tension in Central Europe, wanted to be incorporated in Germany when the Peace Treaty was drawn up after the War, but their wishes were ignored. The present situation thus provides yet another example of the mistakes made in 1919, when Czechoslovakia was created at the Peace Conference in Paris.

On that occasion, Dr. Benes, now President of Czechoslovakia, was head of the Czech delegation. He urged that the "Bohemian Germans" (now the Sudeten minority) should be included in the new nation of Czechoslovakia, and was asked by Mr. Lloyd George how these Germans would vote if a plebiscite were held.

Dr. Benes admitted that a plebiscite would probably result in favour of union with Germany, rather than incorporation in the new nation.

The reason given by Dr. Benes is particularly interesting just now. He said that the Social-Democratic régime of Germany was an attraction to the Bohemians. The latter, being strongly Left-wing, distrusted the Prague Government as "bourgeois."

PLANS FOR A SOLUTION

The first authoritative statement on the details of the Nationalities Statute—which is the Czech Government's attempt to solve the problem thus created nineteen years ago—was contained in an interview with the Minister of Justice, published by *Nemzet*, a Hungarian newspaper, this week.

From this it appears that territorial autonomy will not be provided for in the Statute. German districts, therefore, will not be severed from Czech areas, nor Hungarian from Slovak.

(continued on page 2, col. 1.)

KEEPING EMPIRE TO OURSELVES

BRITISH motor manufacturers are worried because of the entry into markets here and within the Empire of German cars, and a campaign against German "dumping" has started.

The Empire Industries Association has issued a pamphlet, *The German Car Invasion*, declaring the British motor-car industry to be "in the gravest peril," and calling for additional duties to keep out German cars.

Captain Black, of the Standard Motor Company, said recently that "dumping of German cars is spreading to the Empire. More than 1,200 Opels have been sold in India already this year."

A little later in the same speech he disclosed his own plans for "dumping" in these words: "My company plans to produce a car of the same class and price as the Opel, which we hope to have on the market in September."

Although it is continually stated that Germany is free to buy all the raw materials she needs from the British Empire, a trade war develops when she starts to export manufactured goods to the Empire to pay for those raw materials.

War Cannot Bring Justice

"No nation at the end of a victorious war can be trusted to promote justice, as an impartial mind would define it, to a defeated enemy; passions will have been raised by universal suffering and there will be no earthly restraint on the will of the victors." So wrote Sir John Fischer Williams in a letter given considerable prominence in *The Times* on Tuesday. He added:

International justice and international law—which are not quite the same thing, for justice must include machinery for peaceful change of legal conditions—can hardly establish themselves except in peace.

As things are, a war to establish international law and justice (and the belligerents on each side will agree in thinking that they are fighting for these objects) is likely or even certain by reason of the passions which it will arouse, to end, if we neglect the possibility of a stalemate, in terms of peace which will go far beyond the original blameless aims of the victors and sow the seed of another crop of troubles.

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Will Primate Reprimand Hoare?

From the same day's press:—

The use of language which implied that war was sooner or later inevitable cannot be too strongly deprecated, declared the Archbishop of Canterbury in an address to the Convocation of Canterbury on Wednesday of last week.

One of the surest ways of avoiding war was to keep the public nerve steady. What they called tension was only another way of describing rattled nerves. When a man knew that his nerves were in this condition, if he were wise he would refrain from speaking or acting until they were more settled. will from time to time be needed."

During the Commons debate on air raid precautions Sir Samuel Hoare, Home Secretary, said the Government was "urgently engaged on the vital problem" of creating "invulnerable battle headquarters." He added: "I can say that we have advanced very far."

"We have also made arrangements which can be instantly put into operation by the government of the day for coordinating the various branches of civil defence in the War Cabinet and avoiding delay and confusion in the execution of the urgent measures that

Solving the Czech Problem

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 4).

There will, however, be a development of the autonomy which already exists in Bohemia, Moravia-Silesia, Slovakia, and Carpathian Ruthenia.

The various nationalities are to receive their rights regardless of their numbers. In Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia, educational authorities will be organized on national lines. Proportional treatment in the public service, in Government supplies, and in public works, is to be given to all nationalities. Due regard to the different national requirements will be paid when the budget is drawn up.

The German press continued last week to print violent, though not menacing, attacks upon the British and Czechoslovak Governments.

By filling the Sudeten German country with troops, it was said, the Prague authorities had released evil forces which they could not control. The blame for this, it was alleged, rested partly upon the British Government for supporting Prague when tension first arose.

Why It is a Danger Spot

WIDER ISSUES INVOLVED

From a Special Correspondent

THE Czechs are considering increasing the present two-year military service to three. The German papers are still pouring out abuse of the Czechs and lodging protests in Prague about incidents alleged to have occurred in the German-speaking areas of Bohemia.

The German Social-Democratic minority lives under a reign of terror; socialist shopkeepers find themselves boycotted if they do not join Henlein's party and children are taught to threaten socialists with what will happen to them if they have not joined the Henlein party "before Hitler comes." Jews (there are several hundred thousand in Czechoslovakia), socialists, liberals, pacifists, refugees from Austria and Germany—all live in terror of a Nazi putsch. The Czechs are an ancient and resolute people determined to fight if they are invaded.

This is the situation today. It is satisfactory that the two election weekends have passed without worse incidents and it is generally expected that the third election day, tomorrow, will also pass peaceably.

According to programme the Czechs will then be able to withdraw most of the reserves they called out to keep order. Discussions between the Prime Minister, M. Hodza, and Henlein are also supposed to be beginning. The Czechs are offering wide powers of local self-government to the Sudeten Germans as well as to the Hungarian and Slovak and other minorities.

If relations were good between Berlin and Prague a fair settlement of the problem of the Sudeten Germans could be confidently expected. But no one yet knows whether Hitler will be satisfied with a fair settlement or indeed with any settlement which leaves the Czechs in control of their country.

The German Case

The Sudeten Germans can point to undoubted grievances.

(1). **Economic.**—The German minority which is mainly concentrated in the industrial areas of Czechoslovakia has been particularly hard hit because there has been less market for the export of textiles, china, and glass. There has been widespread unemployment and relief is very inadequate. An out-of-work man who is not a member of a Trade Union may get as little as 10 kronen, that is, about 1s. 6d. a day. The Czechs reply that the German Government has made this position much worse by its refusal of Czech exports which has hit

the industrial German population worse than other sections of the community. They also reply that the relief paid to Germans is not worse than that paid to Czechs and that they began, last year at any rate, to provide special schemes of public works for the German districts.

There is no doubt that unemployment among the Sudeten Germans helped very much to build up Henlein's Nazi Party. His first cry, like Hitler's, was "Bread and Work."

He developed his constitutional demands later.

(2). **Constitutional problem.**—The Sudeten Germans were members of the ruling race of Austria before the War and have always resented being a minority in a Slav country.

Relations improved with the Czechs in the last ten years and two of the Sudeten German parties, the Catholic Socialists and German Social Democrats (who still have a strong following under their leader, Herr Jaksch), decided to work with the Czech Government.

They were called the Activists, and accepted posts in the Czech Government. They campaigned for reasonable remedies for Sudeten-German grievances, such as the removal of restrictions on the use of the German language in the law courts in towns where the Germans were not more than a twenty percent minority, and the unfair proportion of civil service posts given to Czechs.

The Czech Case

The Czechs offer full local autonomy to the Germans and agree to remedy their grievances. But they point out that they have treated them better than any other minority has been treated in Europe. This is probably true. Sudeten Germans have no repression to complain of such as those of the Italian Tyrol, yet Hitler has renounced any intention of demanding the German Tyrol from Mussolini.

Clearly Hitler is not troubled by the grievances of the Germans but is using them because he wants to dominate the Czechs who stand in his way to the domination of Hungary with its wheat, Rumania with its oil and to the eventual invasion of the rich Russian Ukraine—all of which programme is outlined in *Mein Kampf*.

This means annihilation for the Czechs. They are willing to make all concessions compatible with their existence as a State, but not to surrender their independence as Austria was forced to surrender hers. They are very proud of their democracy and intend to maintain it.

They are the only free and democratic country which arose out of Versailles. They have their own ancient culture which they maintained during 300 years of Austrian rule and they regard it as worth defending.

The World's Case

For the time Hitler seems to be checked by the knowledge that he will meet armed resistance in Czechoslovakia if he tries a coup and that Czechoslovakia will be supported, so that general war is probable, by France, Russia, and Britain. This may hold him for a time, but promises only new threats of war in the future. Can he be persuaded to listen to a fair settlement?

Would it be a good plan for the Czechs to revise their frontier so that as many as possible of the Sudeten Germans become part of the Reich? This involves great difficulties.

The Czechs would have to give up their present strongly fortified frontier. The racial division could not be at all exact, it would probably involve sacrificing half-a-million Czechs inside Germany and leaving half-a-million Germans inside Czechoslovakia.

It would make great economic difficulties because most of the Germans are economically dependent on the great Czech towns like Prague, Brunn, and Pilsen. And would Hitler, even then, be satisfied? Can Hitler forget the Sudeten Germans as he has forgotten the Germans in the South Tyrol?

Would it help him to be reasonable in Czechoslovakia if the British Government, which has threatened him if he advances in Czechoslovakia, uses the present moment to offer him an Empire settlement and an equal "access to raw materials" such as Sir Samuel Hoare offered at Geneva in 1935?

Public Affairs

COMMENTARY

German Harvest

ONE of the most important factors in the present international situation is the fact that the crops in Germany have not suffered from the drought which has wrought such havoc in other parts of Europe.

Since the advent of Hitler, and particularly since the inception of General Göring's Four Year Plan, German imports of wheat and other cereals have been drastically cut down in order that all possible purchasing power should be used for the raw materials necessary for industry.

The result is that any failure of the harvest would mean the most severe hardship for the German people. Indeed the general opinion throughout Europe is that if the harvest had been as little as ten percent below expectation the European situation would have become very grave indeed.

It is a curious fact that while efficiently pursuing a policy of economic autarchy in other spheres, the German Government has virtually neglected agriculture, without which industrial or military strength is useless.

There has been no effort to pursue any sort of cooperative agricultural policy such as is used in Denmark; in fact a great deal of land which might well be developed is now being used for military purposes or for labour camps.

The whole policy of economic self-sufficiency is fraught with danger for a country which tries to pursue it.

In an effort to replace unessential imports by home-made synthetic goods, the German Government issued a decree that forty percent of various articles such as clothes should be made from a wood base. The result is that the consumption of wood has gone up 150 percent in the past two years—a very serious matter when one realizes the time it takes for a tree to grow.

This particular difficulty has been temporarily alleviated by the absorption into the land of Austria with her large forest areas, but it would still be true to say that the economy of Germany cannot stand any major dislocation either by a natural or political catastrophe. This is well known in all European countries, so that when General Göring talks of Germany's capacity to last through a long war, his words are not taken too seriously.

The actual strategy relied on by the totalitarian States is the quick knock-out blow. The military experts of the democracies rely on the greater staying power provided by their superior economic reserves, while their diplomatic experts concentrate on dividing the enemy so as to avoid too strong a coalition of totalitarian States.

The reluctance of the democracies to sacrifice any of their interests forces millions of people to live on black bread and wear clothes that shrink several inches when it rains. While the whole world lives in fear of immediate extermination.

Imperialism with the Lid off

THE riots in Jamaica which have been steadily increasing during the month, give a slight indication to the outside world that all is not well even in the British colonies.

The two chief industries of Jamaica are sugar and bananas. Both of these have suffered a severe slump since the war owing partly to production quotas which limit the amount which Jamaica is allowed to produce, and partly to subsidized sugar beet growing in various European countries.

Jamaica has a native population of 1½ millions, and many more Jamaicans are continually returning from the neighbouring islands where industries have closed down.

At present the population finds it almost impossible to get a bare standard of existence out of the land. It has, however, been calculated that if the land were developed scientifically it could support another half a million people.

Several sugar companies have tried to

do something in this direction, but the low price of sugar in the world market has made it impossible to do much.

The Government has done nothing and the £500,000 which they have now promised will not go far to solve this basic problem.

The enormous development of applied science has produced a world in which economic relationships exist between people who don't even know of each other's existence, and it is this lack of imaginative understanding of the essential unity of the modern world which has produced the paradox of strife and hunger where there might be cooperation and plenty.

Augustus John recently visited Jamaica and made a number of paintings of the native inhabitants. An exhibition of these paintings is now being held in a West End art gallery and the Mayfair dilettantes can be heard admiring the strength and character of the types depicted by John.

Yet when these natives rise up in revolt against their enforced starvation the inhabitants of Mayfair are unconcernedly sporting themselves at Epsom.

It is significant that immediately the least concession was made by the Conciliation Board, the situation was eased.

Will Dr. Temple Explain?

DR. Temple put the case fairly when he said:

There are, it seems to me, two methods open to the Christian citizen and statesman. One is the method of complete pacifism, which would result in total disarmament. For this I have a profound respect, though I think it is mistaken. . . . The other method is that of establishing an international society of peoples so as to secure justice and, if need be, enforce law. This, which I believe to be sound, deliberately accepts force as an instrument. And if force is to be used, the available force must be adequate.

But what does he mean when he says that two methods are open to the Christian?

Can it be in any circumstances Christian to bomb?

How can a Christian, who repeats the injunction to "love your enemies," begin bayonet practice as soon as the enemies threaten him?

There are two methods. But are there two methods for Christians?

Wings Over London

AN attempt to clear busy West End streets of people within ten minutes is to be one of the features of two lightning air raids to be carried out on London this summer.

This news was released on Wednesday—at a time when public opinion was shocked by the news of murderous air attacks on Canton and Barcelona. Does it represent the most intelligent reaction to such news of which this country is capable?

Once again it has been admitted that the real purpose of such rehearsals is to prepare the public for the real thing in order that sudden attack on London would not so demoralize the home front as to make it impossible for any government to continue the war.

In the *News Chronicle* a high official was reported to have said that "those responsible for the defence of London were well aware that the first week or two of hostilities would be a severe ordeal."

"But they are also convinced," he added, "that a decisive blow must be struck in that short time if an enemy is to find that lightning mass attacks from the air are too costly to continue. The real test of air raid precautions will come in the early stages of war."

"We hope the cooperation of the public will make the test of defences in Central London as complete as possible during peace-time exercises."

"Vigilant"

Belgium

HEAVY PENALTIES HAVE NOT DESTROYED PACIFISM

Fears of the Man in the Street

From a Correspondent

ABSOLUTE pacifism in a country like Belgium is an adventure indeed. The penalty for refusing to accept military service is long terms of imprisonment.

While in Belgium on a business trip recently I spoke to many non-pacifists. All are dead afraid of a war which they regard as inevitable. "We're getting used to sitting on a volcano," they say, "so we just have as good a time as we can before the outbreak occurs."

A.R.P. ULTIMATUM

While I was in Ostend there was a complete ARP black-out. They do things a little more radically over there.

No appeals for cooperation! Every citizen received an ultimatum threatening severe penalties and arrest for showing a glimmer of light or venturing out during the operations.

Fantastically enough, the lighthouse was beaming merrily throughout, so the half a dozen bombing planes must have had an easy time of it.

PACIFIST STUDENTS

However, there are pacifists in Belgium, and while in Brussels I had an interesting talk with several Belgian pacifist students, members of the Ligue Scolaire Internationale pour la Paix (International Students' League for Peace).

They expressed themselves highly interested in the organization of the Peace Pledge Union and are most anxious to make contact with as many members of the University section as would be willing to correspond with them in French and English.

Their secretary is Jean Thiriart, 69 Boulevard Maurice Lemonnier, Brussels.

CHANCE FOR P.P.U. MEMBERS

I took particulars of the pacifist camps organized this summer by the Youth Section of the War Resisters' International—one in Norway from July 18 to 25, and one in Holland from July 31 to August 6.

The charges work out at less than a pound per head for the whole period, and the cross-channel fares being what they are, it is a splendid opportunity for internationally-minded PPU members to have a profitable and cheap Continental holiday. Anyone wanting further details or advice regarding travel problems should write to Mr. A. G. Bitton, 9, Richmond Crescent, Slough, Bucks.

France

Left Wing Now Backs War Plans It Formerly Opposed

A FEW years ago there was nobody, at any rate in so-called advanced circles, who doubted that defence was impossible against chemical warfare

BUILDING PEACE, NOT TALKING

A "friendly revolt against ordinary peace propaganda" was a reason once given for the formation of the International Friendship League.

"We hear so much about 'international brotherhood'—why do we not invite those from abroad over here to make friends of them?" asked Mr. Noël Ede at a meeting in June, 1931, when he asked for helpers to welcome thirty German students who wanted to spend August in England. It was in September of the same year that he league was inaugurated "to promote visits to and from this country so as to foster international friendship and peace."

The following year 250 young people from Belgium, France, Germany and Holland were invited to visit young English people, and 250 from this country visited the Continent. Holiday centres were by then established.

The league is becoming established in many countries, and in Britain the membership has risen to over 7,000, the majority of the members being attached to active local branches. Particulars of membership are obtainable from the Organizing Secretary of the League, 13 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1.

U.S.S.R.

BELIEF THAT WAR MUST COME

—But Red Army Will Be "Humane"

THE people of the Soviet Union are definitely not pacifists as they believe experience shows that, against certain elements of the community, military action is necessary.

This was the contention of Mr. Pat Sloan, who has spent some time in Russia, when he visited the Dick Sheppard Centre, Bayswater, last week.

The USSR, said Mr. Sloan, had thrown all its weight on the side of peace in the councils of the nations, but to no purpose. Further, while a balance of power might temporarily achieve peace, a final clash between the capitalists and the workers was inevitable.

"HUMANE" WAR

Mr. Sloan was confident that war as waged by the Red Army would prove far more humane than that of the capitalist groups.

He presupposed a victory for the Soviet, and inferred that the fact that this had a "workers' army" would preclude all possibility of an unjust peace. After victory their policy would be that of peaceful penetration by education and propaganda.

"FAILURE" OF NON-VIOLENCE

Speaking of the non-violent movement as an alternative, Mr. Sloan said he thought this had been a complete failure in India—a statement strongly countered by members of the audience.

He also felt that if the pacifist movement was to achieve anything in an emergency it would have to start training itself in this form of resistance now.



WHILE the city of New York has a police force numbering only 19,000, Rome considers it needs one of 40,000 despite the fact that the population of Rome is only a million, or about one seventh of that of New York.

Perhaps Rome's huge police force is necessary to curb Italian enthusiasm for fascism.

Our picture shows an American "motor bandit patrolman."

Sweden

Scheme for New Universities To Be Examined

From Our Own Correspondent

THE need for new universities on a smaller scale and better fitted to fulfil the requirements of the modern world will be discussed at a preliminary conference at Marston Hill, Mullsjö, Sweden, at the beginning of July.

Academicians, economists, and students from several countries will discuss the policies of modern universities, and investigate how far they adequately contribute to the formation of good citizens.

WORLD-WIDE SCHEME

The Universitas scheme, propounded by organizational investigators in Sweden and England, will be submitted to the conference for criticism and discussion.

This scheme provides for the formation of a chain of functionally determined university units all over the world, acting in close intellectual co-operation, and exchanging teachers and students.

Information regarding the Universitas scheme may be had from M. S. Allwood, Fitzwilliam House, Cambridge, or from Sven Larson, Skolgatan 3, Skara, Sweden.

Colombia

New Hope for Emigrant Refugees

A new development in the way of helping war resisters whose release from prison it has been able to secure, and for helping others too, is reported by the War Resisters' International.

Rudolph Messel, on behalf of the WRI, has visited a fertile mountain valley called Pital, in Colombia, South America. His report shows that it provides a magnificent opportunity for emigrant refugees, if only a sufficient amount of money can be raised to see the present settlers through the next

twelve or eighteen months and to put the colony on a self-supporting basis.

To enable this to be done, an appeal has been launched by the War Resisters' International. Details are obtainable from the WRI at 11, Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

The 27 settlers at present at Pital were originally assisted by an International Christian Committee set up in 1935, and the present step has been taken in conjunction with that committee.

SHARE AND SHARE UNALIKE

ALL sorts and conditions of shares are to be found in the investment market. There are ordinary shares, deferred shares, cumulative participating preference shares: shares that pay a fixed dividend, and shares (these are the commonest of all) that pay no dividend. Shares that can be cashed by the holder at will are unusual, and building societies are almost the only institutions to issue them.

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NEW BOOKS

SPOTLIGHT ON SPAIN

Homage to Catalonia. By George Orwell. Secker & Warburg. 10s. 6d. net.

Reviewed by Max Plowman

AN honest man, we know, is the noblest work of God. George Orwell is an honest man: he will tell the truth to his own discomfort. More than that, he is one of the finest writers now living. His sentences are composed by the directness and simplicity of his thinking: he writes because he has a vital and critical interest in life. First and foremost, therefore, *Homage to Catalonia* is literature, a book about the actualities of the war in Spain that belongs to history and will be quoted as authoritative long after the propaganda stories of the Right and Left have gone into the pulping machine.

If truth is important, then this book is important. But truth, we know, is the first casualty in war, and there are many reasons why this simple attestation of the truth should remain unnoticed despite the admission of the newspaper editor that it is the truth beautifully told. For it does not serve the interests either of the Left or Right; and, in regard to Spain today, propaganda comes first and truth is stood in the corner. If required to support propaganda it may be called upon.

Orwell is dead honest; but, naturally enough, he himself is not so sure about that. Let's quote him on the subject, for I should think the following paragraph is enough to send the discriminating reader off to a bookshop:—

This war, in which I played so ineffectual a part, has left me with memories that are mostly evil, and yet I do not wish that I had missed it. When you have had a glimpse of such a disaster as this—and however it ends the Spanish war will turn out to have been an appalling disaster, quite apart from the slaughter and physical suffering—the result is not necessarily disillusionment and cynicism. Curiously enough the whole experience has left me with not less but more belief in the decency of human beings. And I hope the account I have given is not too misleading. I believe that on such an issue as this no-one is or can be completely truthful. It is difficult to be certain about anything except what you have seen with your own eyes, and consciously or unconsciously everyone writes as a partisan. In case I have not said this somewhere earlier in the book I will say it now: beware of my partisanship, my mistakes of fact and the distortion inevitably caused by my having seen only one corner of events. And beware of exactly the same things when you read any other book on this period of the Spanish war.

It is really important that pacifists should get hold of this book; for better than a thousand diatribes it shows how essentially corrupt and corrupting war is. Here is the tale of a man who went to Spain simply to fight for freedom. In the end, the people for whom he was fighting were powerless to prevent the political bosses behind them from trying to kill him. And they nearly succeeded. In itself the story is continuously exciting. Its implications are tremendous.

PALESTINE TOUR

Poor Knight's Saddle. By Douglas V. Duff. Herbert Jenkins. 12s. 6d.

"I tell you, John, there are only two classes of people happy in Palestine—those past caring, and children too young to know the rottenness which reluctance to grasp the nettle can make of a country." So concludes this very interesting book, whose author, after having been for many years in the Palestine police force, has recently toured the country to discover what the inhabitants think of the proposed partition. He is so well known and remembered by all classes and circles that his face is welcomed everywhere, and he gleans the true opinions of people who rarely get heard by government commissions.

Having bought an old car, he drives north from Jerusalem, as far as Safed, then strikes the coast at Acre, and follows it south to Gaza, and, turning in to Beersheba, completes his journey. He is a great Boswell at reporting the conversations he had with British policemen, Jewish pioneers, Arab peasants, Effendis and intellectuals, and native Christians. Few people are enthusiastic, he finds, about the partition scheme; it ignores the realities and it will not work. The British Government

officials are mortified because they have given the prime of their lives to Palestine, and, too old to receive new offices, they will be pensioned off on miserable pittance. The Arabs, whipped up by their agitators, have no intention of letting the Jews take the best land, and of being ruined when they are cut off from the prosperity that the Jews have brought to the country. The Jews are disappointed at the failure of their great dream of a new Jewish Palestine; they solemnly declare that they will respect the Arabs, and treat them well, but the Arabs are afraid of vengeance. The native Christian communities fear both Jews and Arabs, because they have been loyal allies to neither.

The villain of the piece is the British Government, which is in the saddle of the old Knights Crusaders, but yet has failed to bring the *Pax Britannica* to the country, because of its timidity in dealing with lawlessness. Britain is a broken reed to Jews and Arabs alike. British lightheartedness toward the inhabitants of Palestine consorts ill with her intention of keeping a firm hand upon its strategic points, like Haifa Bay and Akaba, for the sake of her Empire.

The author thinks the future is black for the Jews. Either the British Government must reconquer Palestine, and then rule properly, or the Jews should give up the territory they now hold, and start again in the desert south of Beersheba. But does the author think we can solve the economic and strategic troubles of Palestine without solving those of the wider world concomitantly?

J. C. G. BURTON.

"YELLOW PERIL" REVIVED

Australia's Empty Spaces. By Sydney Upton. George Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.

The theme of this book is the possibilities of some of the open spaces of Australia in relation to the yellow peril. In these days we in Europe are much too concerned with perils that are red, and with others that are brown, to trouble over-much about those that are yellow. With us the yellow peril, like much else that we inherited from the days of flax-planting in outlandish parts, is now mildly *démodé*. Before the Chinese war it is just possible that our erstwhile ally might have contemplated seizing Australia. But the mounting tale of Japanese soldiers killed in China is a sufficient guarantee that no such scheme can possibly mature for many years to come.

Much of the book is occupied with a discussion of just how much of Australia's unoccupied areas could be occupied by the Japanese or by anybody else. The author's general conclusion is that the occupiable territory is large but that it is not as large as many others have supposed it to be. Many areas in Australia will always, he claims, be as desolate as they are now. The reasons adduced for this conclusion are not, however, very convincing.

Many areas with a seasonal rainfall or with a rainfall of fifteen inches or less are condemned. But territories with a seasonal rainfall of a good deal less than fifteen inches are being cultivated successfully in the USA and in North Africa by the methods of dry-land farming.

A brackish water supply, according to the author, also renders many areas unfit for cultivation. On the other hand in North Africa a form of husbandry based on crops such as olives and carobs has been developed, which can withstand very high concentrations of salt. And, of course, if the supply of brackish water is plentiful rice can always be grown.

Again, it is claimed that artesian wells cannot be used extensively for agricultural purposes. It is true that they will not support an agricultural system like that of Europe, but they can be used for certain other types of farming. Oranges, amongst other crops, have been grown both in Palestine and in Egypt with nothing but artesian water.

The author thinks that in many parts of Australia the desert is encroaching on the cultivated areas, and he says that the danger is particularly great because moving dunes cannot be stabilized within eighty years. This is not the experience of others who have studied the problem in other countries. In Egypt dunes have been stopped within two

years, and fully stabilized within five. There are many other statements in the book that are difficult to understand. It is suggested that the removal of scrub can reduce the rainfall of a district. The removal of forest may reduce the rainfall but the removal of scrub will certainly not.

The book is illustrated by a few not very impressive photographs.

R. BROWN

ARMAMENTS FOR DEFENCE

Glass Houses and Modern War. By Jonathan Griffin. Chatto & Windus. 3s. 6d.

This book offers as an alternative to the present policy of building bombing planes for bombing planes, one of "mainly non-menacing" defence. Mr. Griffin claims that by concentrating on fighting planes, an efficient navy, food storage, decentralization of industry, ARP, &c., we could render ourselves so invulnerable that it would be impossible for any country to win a quick victory over us, and that the knowledge of this would act as a deterrent. He also claims that this could be achieved whilst still keeping all or nearly all of our democratic freedom. (Italics mine.)

As an exposure of our vulnerability to air attack, Mr. Griffin's case is a strong one, but whilst he admits that "nobody knows the effect of modern weapons," he appears to overlook the fact that the possibilities of efficient defence against those weapons are still less known. His case rests on the assumption that knowledge that any war would be a long one would have a deterrent effect, but if he is correct in saying that in that lies our only hope, I can only echo his own words: "What a world!"

If war were an exact science, if it could be demonstrated in advance how long any given war would last and what its results would be, if it were known how many aeroplanes equal one battleship, and if it were certain that no new inventions would upset the balance between offence and defence, wars would probably never take place, but as long as uncertainty exists, national pride will always induce belief in a quick victory.

By shifting the emphasis of our war preparations from attacking power to home defence, the plan has the merit of being less provocative than our present policy, but is not a real alternative to it, and is not likely to be adopted by an imperialist government.

Mr. Griffin's picture of our glass house is gloomy enough, but his picture of the kind of house in which we should have to live if our whole national life and industries were organized on the lines of his comprehensive suggestions should convert some to the view that in a complete alternative to war lies our only salvation.

WILLIAM J. LYON.

SPIRITUAL BIOGRAPHY

Tomorrow's Star. By L. Cranmer-Byng. Golden Cockerel Press, 7s. 6d.

Tomorrow's Star is the story of the author's struggle for emancipation from himself, and its wisdom is the result of a fusion of the latest Western ideas with the old Eastern philosophies.

"The disentanglement of self," he writes, "and the adjustment of the discordant crowd into an ordered community are the supreme task of the individual. To adjust ourselves that we may face the gathering storm unmoved is the urgency of to-day." The book, being a spiritual biography, suggests means to this end.

Mr. Byng has fortunately avoided the error of the many spiritually-minded people who fail to see that life cannot be divided up into several water-tight compartments, for he tells us that whatever truth lies in the pages of his book is derived from experience gained in a practical world of local government and in the world of ideas and reflection.

Thus his outlook on life can never be divorced from action.

Referring to the Great War the author accuses the church of dethroning Christ and proclaiming Caesar. He recognizes that the difficulties we face today are of our own making and that they started with the Treaty of Versailles, with the doctrine of expropriation, the plunder of a conquered State and of revenge.

The book will be a delight to all who read it both for its illuminating discussion on problems of personal philosophy and for its healthy balance between the subjective and the objective. If any special recommendation is needed it is to those who are apt to despair, for Mr.

FOR YOUR PUBLIC LIBRARY

Earlier Books Recalled by Patrick Richards

"Is War Obsolete?" By Canon Raven. Allen and Unwin. 4s. 6d.

Though appreciating war's emotional appeal and the value of loyalty to the State, Canon Raven asks for volunteers "to take up the ministry of reconciliation . . . to convince the world that the spirit is stronger than arms and that warfare is as obsolete and intolerable as slavery." After a profound and restrained discussion of conflicting loyalties, he concludes that "love is stronger than fear, that no peace based on coercion can ever be stable," and that Christianity is the only "moral equivalent and satisfying alternative" to "an orgy of mutual suicide."

Byng clearly emphasizes the necessity of individual effort and enterprise.

"We who have made of Western civilization," he says, "a byword, a thing of 'refined' voices, mechanical toys, and pleasures, and water-closets, who cover with a thin Geneva crust the massed fires of hate and war, must descend to the lower levels of a common humanity, and return to the common denominator before we seek the clouds."

P. PITMAN

SHORTER NOTICES

Sword Over Europe. An I.L.P. pamphlet obtainable from the Socialist Bookshop. 1d.

This twenty-page pamphlet contains an effective account of the decay of democracy and internationalism since the end of the Great War. As a declaration of the policy of one of the few non-pacifist bodies which is maintaining opposition to the present increase of armaments it should be of interest to pacifists who wish to understand the varieties of Left-wing opinion. Its demand is for mass workers' action against imperialism, with an emphasis on fascist imperialism.

Speech by Senor Alvarez del Vayo Union of Democratic Control. 2d.

Whatever one's views on the policy of non-intervention in Spain it is impossible not to be impressed by the directness and cogency—on its own terms—of the Spanish delegate's speech at the League of Nations Council meeting on May 11. It tatters the diplomatic evasions by which the Spanish Government and its supporters have been so often irritated in the last year or so. Though non-intervention may have had advantages in practice, as it has been interpreted by a collection of rearming and militaristic powers, it has clearly been an opportunist rather than a principled policy.

QUAKERS IN PEACE & WAR

A group of pacifists have arranged that a book entitled *Quakers in Peace and War*, by Miss Margaret E. Hirst, published at 16s., can be supplied to a limited number of workers for peace at the special price of 3s. carriage paid. It is a story of a definite adventure on the part of a group of Christian believers who took their faith seriously and who put their religion into actual practice as a way of life, and, in the words of the introduction, of "The exhibition of a new kind of force, the demonstration and power of the way of love and fellowship."

It contains much valuable matter affecting discussions on peace and war. Application should be sent to J. Roland Whiting, 61 Wigginton Road, York.

SCIENCE & SOCIETY

Professor J. D. Bernal's article in the current issue of *Science and Society* discusses the question of "Science and Liberty." He makes a point of the perverted ends to which science is directed in those countries where individual liberty has ceased to exist. The author points out that in the dictatorship countries the means of science are perverted almost entirely to the ends of destruction, and that this is inevitable under conditions where liberty and humanism have disappeared.

Henry T. F. Rhodes in an article on "Anti-Social Man" makes an interesting point in observing that the mass-murder of war is a symptom of that anti-sociality which is to be found in its most highly developed form in fascist countries. He calls for a more detailed study of anti-sociality in all its aspects.

Facts and figures about

WOMEN'S WORK

A Woman's
Point of ViewBy
M. GOODFELLOW

ALTHOUGH we glibly talk of the period 1914-18 as providing a great stimulus to employment among women, the stimulus was confined largely to those industries which were producing war materials, and which paved the way for the post-War development in the lighter metal and electrical industries.

An examination of some of the statistics provided in the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, shows that at least half of the total insured female population of this country is to be found in these industries which were well established in the nineteenth century—the textile trades—and which have always employed a large proportion of female labour.

Indeed the part played by women in the building up of these industries during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries must not be underestimated. The prosperity of Victorian England was due in no small measure to the inherited skill of the workers in the textile trades of Lancashire and the West Riding.

UNFORTUNATELY, it appears that these industries—cotton and woollen and worsted—have had their day as the brightest stars in the industrial sky, for while they still employ some 400,000 women, other industries are expanding and new ones are appearing in the field of women's employment.

The decline in exports from this country is reflected in the great increase in unemployment in the shipbuilding and heavy metal industries and, especially important from the point of view of women, in the textile trades, which cover nearly one fifth of the insured female population.

To some extent the decline in exports has been offset by an increased demand from the home market for hosiery and artificial silk; but it is nevertheless true that one out of every five women connected with the textile trade is unemployed.

Among the various industries which combine to form the textile group, jute showed an unemployment percentage of 32 percent for women and cotton 25 percent, while artificial silk and hosiery, both expanding industries, showed less than one in six of the women workers as unemployed in March of this year.

A more cheerful prospect is offered by those industries which cater almost entirely for the consumer: e.g., the distributive trades, employing 780,000 with 8.3 percent unemployed; clothing, 400,000 with 9.2 percent unemployed; and laundries, 117,000 with 7.9 percent unemployed.

These two groups of industries account for well over half the women workers in this country, so that we can link up the prosperity of the industries with the well being of the woman worker.

Other industries, which are not such great employers of female labour but which nevertheless provide employment for 170,000 more workers, are the light metal and electrical trades. Here, there has been steady development in the last decade with little interruption due to financial depression.

These industries call for a large amount of semi-skilled labour and the lightness of the work makes them especially suitable for women's employment. Women usually prove themselves adaptable to semi-skilled jobs and are undoubtedly cheaper to employ and easier to deal with than men.

Employers are not slow to recognize the potentialities of women's work as we can judge from the types of factory recently erected in and around London.

It is also worth noting that some of the much advertised recovery in the depressed areas is due to the establishment there of the lighter industries, which, though increasing the number of persons in employment, does little to remedy the real difficulty—the problem of the

man who has had no work at all over a long period.

BESIDES being limited to a small number of industries a woman's industrial life is also limited in time. For while a man can usually expect to be in employment until he is at least sixty, only one fifth of the insured women workers were over 35 at the time of the last inquiry.

A study of the figures in the *Labour Gazette* shows that there is no great difference in the number of unemployed women in the various age groups. But if we reflect that only one fifth of the insured population is represented as being over 35, while the same age group accounts for two fifths of the total unemployed, then it is clear that the women of 35 and over who lose their jobs have not the same chance as their younger sisters of finding others.

The position is even clearer if we look at the figures for women over 50; these show that one out of every four insured persons over that age is out of work. There is clearly a case for pensions before the age of 65.

WE who live in the relatively prosperous South-East of England, and specially those of us engaged in commercial types of posts where no efficient person need be unemployed for long, do not always realize the difficulties of women in the older industrial parts of the country. There the field of possible employment is usually more limited and if industry is not booming there are always several people ready to fill each vacancy.

Other Women's Jobs - 5

In the Shadow of War

By A HOUSEWIFE

UNTIL the beginning of this year, my life was comparatively easy. There was money enough to employ a maid, run a car, clothe the children, buy books, and take good holidays. I was able to attend any meetings that interested me.

Unfortunately, the factory for which my husband is working has been obliged to turn to war manufactures, and as this is against our principles he has given in notice to cease work in June.

As there was no prospect of an immediate job, economy has had to be practised. The car was sold. The extra walking has got rid also of the spare tyre round our waists! Then the maid gave notice. This has meant that I have to do all the cleaning, washing, cooking and sewing for the family. *Would my outside activities suffer?*

There is the monthly discussion circle that meets here to talk about psychology, children, religion, wireless lectures, anything we have in mind.

Lately I have distributed the pamphlet on "Gas." As most of the members owe their income to the factory I have mentioned, I was afraid it might embarrass them. However, it was read. The following week we read, *Six Reasons why Women Should join the PPU Now*.

Then there are the lectures I am asked to give to Townswomen's Guilds, Women's Cooperative Guilds, and Methodist Guilds on various topics. These are resolved while washing-up, polishing floors, and ironing clothes.

These meetings are evening ones, so my husband stays in with the children. When he goes to PPU meetings, I sew or write at home.

My correspondents are many. There

Twenty-one Years
AgoFrom the *New Crusader*, June 8, 1917.

(Extracts from a letter from Wilfred Wellock.)

I am pretty well now, the air, together with the nourishing food, having braced me up finely. I feel I shall soon be ready to endure another term of imprisonment. It was a great pleasure to me to know that you were arranging to carry on the *New Crusader*. . . Your work is being appreciated by numbers of people. . . I observe that the columns are full of stimulating stuff.

When I was in prison I thought I would try and write you something from camp, but dear me! With the incessant talk and lack of facilities for writing, or even for quietude, I am afraid it will be almost impossible for me to do this. But oh, how I wish I could be free to work alongside of you in this great cause. My spirit is stronger than ever. . .

I spent many happy hours in prison, and tried to turn them to the greatest profit.

Films

Changes to Avoid
Nazi Ban

When Erich Maria Remarque's *Three Comrades* was to be filmed, the insistence of the Legion of Decency and of a Nazi Consul in the USA resulted in the story being changed to eliminate the oppression of religious or racial minorities. The Storm Troopers were to have been changed to communists, but eventually their role was made incidental.

The changes were made to avoid the film being banned in Germany.

FEMININE BAIT
FOR
ARMY RECRUITS

WOMEN'S services have been used in the enlistment of recruits by Lieutenant-Colonel M. D. Molloy, Commanding Officer of the 6th North Staffordshire Regiment.

He offered £1 to the woman obtaining the largest number of recruits in each of the six detachments before June 1. An additional £1 was offered to the woman securing the largest number of recruits for the entire battalion. Women of any age were eligible.

LED BY THE NOSE?

It was stipulated, however, that the women must personally conduct their recruits to the drill hall, where they had their names and addresses recorded and even obtained receipts for the recruits.

Education

Nations to Exchange
Teachers

Great interest in the possibility of a systematic exchange of teachers between the Argentine and Brazil has been aroused by the visit to the Argentine of Mr. Lourenço Filho, a well-known Brazilian educationist.

Mr. Filho had been invited by Argentine teachers to give a series of lectures on education in America and the development of teaching in Brazil. Shortly after his visit the Argentine Government asked the National Commission for the Revision of History and Geography Text-books to draw up a plan for permanent exchanges with Brazil, in collaboration with the universities and cultural associations.

Women Speakers from
the Empire

"Women Plan for Peace, Prosperity, and Progress," is the theme of this year's conference of the British Commonwealth League, which will be held in the YWCA Central Club, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1, from Tuesday to Thursday of next week.

Mrs. Corbett Ashby will be in the chair and speakers will include Mrs. F. Bromilow (Australia); Miss H. M. Cross; Mrs. D. Kirby (South Africa); Miss M. Kisch (South Africa); F. L. McDougall; Mr. Harold Nicolson, MP; Mrs. I. M. Sieff; Mrs. Jessie Street (Australia); Miss Edith Thompson; and Miss Freda White.

The sessions each day will be from 10.30 a.m. to 1 p.m. and from 2.15 p.m. to 5.30 p.m. Admission to the conference is 1s. per session, or 5s. for six sessions. Tickets and other information are obtainable from the secretary, British Commonwealth League, 17 Buckingham Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.

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Holidays that Build Real Friendship

ALL should welcome the present trend toward holidays with pay for industrial workers. But a glimpse into the habits of visitors to certain popular resorts in August suggests that some seem to stand in need of suggestions as to how to spend holidays wisely and profitably.

How many of us know whence sprung the open-air movement of today? For this national service probably more thanks are due to Mr. T. Arthur Leonard than to anyone else.

Away back in 1889, Mr. Leonard set to work to provide inexpensive holidays on social lines. He founded successively the Cooperative Holidays Association and the Holiday Fellowship.

These movements have always catered for those who are prepared to tramp, and never for those who are content to look at a world apart through a carriage window.

★
THE Holiday Fellowship provides guest houses and organizes walking tours amid many of the finest scenes in Great Britain and abroad, and is ever seeking to break fresh ground. Long, happy, open-air days are spent exploring rocky coasts and tramping wind-swept moors and mountains. Rucksack lunches are taken to be eaten

HOLIDAYS WITH PAY

A Bill empowering Trade Boards and Agricultural Wages Committees to provide holidays with pay and enabling the machinery of the Ministry of Labour to be used, if desired, in the administration of holiday schemes, is to be introduced into Parliament.

In making this announcement last week the Minister of Labour added that an Inter-Departmental Committee and a special branch of the Ministry of Labour will be set up to deal with the coordination of holiday arrangements.

by some stream on the hillside or at a friendly farm, where cups of tea will be provided.

When at the guest house again, after evening dinner, guests cooperate in a social programme giving that necessary balance between jollity and fun, music and discussion.

Most of the guest houses were once the homes of the wealthy, being large country mansions in their own grounds and amongst magnificent scenery for the excursions, which are arranged on four days each week.

The opening of family centres and a camp on the Suffolk Coast, where family holidays can be spent, is a recent development that means that the advent of "baby" in the home need no longer preclude the taking of Fellowship Holidays.

The people of the future can taste while still young the joys of Fellowship, reap while young its benefits, and so permeate this spirit among other folk.

The atmosphere of comradeship which accompanies these holidays has always led to the formation of friendships which break through the barriers of creed and class, so that within the Fellowship all



"Long, happy, open-air days are spent exploring rocky coasts and tramping wind-swept moors and mountains."

contribute for the enjoyment and inspiration of the whole.

★
CONTINENTAL visits are arranged giving exceptional opportunities for the meeting of people from other lands. On Fellowship holidays not only are we all of one class, but of one nation.

Every summer numbers of people from abroad visit the British centres of the Fellowship and the International Hostel in London.

This beautiful woodland retreat at Sydenham Hill, only a few minutes train

journey from the West End, is visited by people from all over the world, and is also used by guests from the provinces visiting London. Anyone doubting the reality of international friendship should spend a few days at "Hitherwood" when next in London.

Perhaps the movement may be considered one of the most helpful influences at work in these days working for the spreading of that spirit which takes away the occasion for war and gives hope of permanent peace.

(Those who would like to know more about these holidays should send a stamp for particulars to: The Holiday Fellowship, Fellowship House, 142, Great North Way, Hendon, London, N.W.4.)

Halmer Wallis

Did You Know—?

AN interesting commentary on our time is provided by the following, among other, declarations of international law. There have been prohibited:—

In Land Warfare

1. The use of any projectile of a weight less than 400 grammes (about 14 ounces) which is either explosive or charged with fulminating or inflammatory substances. Declaration of St. Petersburg, 1868.

2. The use of projectiles the sole object of which is the diffusion of

asphyxiating or deleterious gases. Hague Convention, 1899 IV (2).

(Great Britain did not accede to this Agreement until 1907.)

(Great Britain rejected the proscription of dum-dum bullets, Lord Lansdowne instructing Sir Julian Pauncefote to inform the conference that the Chitral Campaign of 1895 had demonstrated the insufficiency of a hard envelope for stopping a rush in savage warfare. Dum-dum bullets were used by the Boers in the Boer War, and their use formed the subject of protests by Great Britain, who in 1907 agreed to prohibit their employment.)

3. The employment of direct injury or violence against non-combatants.

4. The employment of poison or poisoned weapons; the employment of arms, projectiles, or materials calculated to cause unnecessary suffering; the attack or bombardment by any means whatsoever of cities, villages, or buildings which are undefended. Hague Convention, 1907 IV (23) & (25).

5. The use as between the signatories (Great Britain, France, USA, Italy, and Japan) of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases and all analogous liquids, materials, or devices.

In Sea Warfare

1. The bombardment of undefended ports, towns, villages, dwellings, or

IT'S A MATTER OF IDEALS

MR. Anthony Eden, during a speech in Grosvenor House on April 26, stated that if we are to uphold our ideals, and our conception of life, we must make an effort comparable with the efforts of other Powers, and that an equal spirit must be roused.

He went on to suggest that there must be wholehearted cooperation of all sections of the community which would entail sacrifices by every member of it.

We thoroughly agree with Mr. Eden, but our ideals differ from his.

★
"ALL the panoply of arms, of drum and trumpet, is out again!" said Mr. Eden.

We agree, but we cannot forget that he, together with other members of the Government, has worked very hard to bring such a state of affairs into existence. There seems to be little point in

—by—
Derek Neville

Mr. Eden deploring those things which he supports so blindly and so fervently. We have another ideal.

It is one of peace, and we have no reason to deplore the results of our strivings. For our conception of life is sufficient in itself to produce both the effort and the spirit.

★
WE do not believe that the drum and the trumpet will cease by the production of other drums and trumpets. We cannot agree that it is logical to manufacture poison gas for the purpose of removing its dread from the world. We cannot deny war in one breath and support the means of war with every other breath.

Our ideal is different.

We argue that war has but one definition, which cannot change and which cannot be disguised by any motive. We argue that killing is a crime and that it remains a crime no matter what cloak may be thrown across its bloody face.

★
WE can see, too, something else that provides a more optimistic future for the world. We can see the panoply of peace, of sanity.

We can see, not just an equal spirit, but a greater spirit, a spirit that must conquer because it is unconquerable.

As to compulsion: "Why slaves," said the master, "Tis in our power to hang ye."

"Very likely," replied the slaves, "But 'tis in our powers, then, to be hanged, and scorn ye."

"Unnecessary Suffering" in War is ILLEGAL!

Cheerful "News" for Non-Combatants

other buildings by naval forces. Hague Convention, 1907 XI (1).

2. The bombardment of a place solely because automatic contact mines are anchored off the harbour. Ditto. (Great Britain, France, Germany, and Japan did not agree to this provision.)

3. The bombardment of undefended places for the non-payment of money contributions. Hague Convention, 1907 XI (4).

4. The bombardment of certain places bearing a distinctive mark and not used for military purposes, such as buildings devoted to public worship, art, science, or charitable purposes, and hospitals. Hague Convention, 1907 XI (5).

5. Bombardment without notice, unless military requirements make notice impossible. Hague Convention, 1907 XI (6).

6. Pillage. Hague Convention, 1907 XI (7).

In Air Warfare

Warfare which presents for the persons or property of the peaceable population greater dangers than land or sea warfare. Institute of International Law, Madrid, 1911.

THOSE STRANGE YEARS

By Theodora Wilson Wilson

A novel for those who remember and those who don't.

Popular Edition 2/6

From GEORGE LANSBURY

"Those Strange Years" is written by one who knows from first-hand knowledge what life was like in Britain during the days of the 'Great War.' She has written a picture which shows clearly the mental, moral and material struggles through which masses of young people passed.

"Now that we are once again in the midst of a crisis which may plunge us all into an even greater Inferno of Unreason, it is important that those who will be brought face to face with the same age-long problems of Right and Wrong, should be able to read a clear straight-forward story of recent struggles, and learn that life is not just a game of chance, but is given us for service of God through co-operation in service of one another. I hope the book will get into the hands of thousands of young people and in all libraries."

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Speaking Personally

WHAT IS HUMANISM?

Laurence Housman's second article

THERE seems to be a tendency in the peace movement to give humanism a bad name and a bad meaning; and as I am much more sure that I am a humanist than that I am a Christian, I have a concern to write in its defence.

A speaker at the Bristol Peace Conference pointed to the dictatorships of the present day, with their cruelties, injustices, and violations of human rights, as a demonstration of the "failure of humanism." I maintain that these dictatorships have no closer relation to true humanism than institutional Christianity has to the teaching of Christ.

Surely what the conscience and consciousness of the peace movement are most concerned with today is not the failure of humanism, but the failure of Christianity to remain true in quite fundamental matters, to the teaching of its founder.

The totalitarianism of the Dictatorships is as far away from true humanism as the pronouncements in favour of war of certain prelates of the Church of England are from true Christianity.

That departure from truth is of long standing. We are faced in past history, and right up to date, with a whole series of horrible instances of the far departure of the Church and of Christian society, both in life and spirit, from the life and spirit of Christ.

Of all the great failures in the world, is there a failure comparable to the failure of institutional Christianity, even in the day of its power, to make its laws or its social system or its international relations Christian in character? Is there in history any series of betrayals comparable to the betrayals of Christ by his professed followers?

★ ★

WITH regard to the dictatorships of the Totalitarian States, there is this at least to be said for their honesty. They make no claim whatever (as Christians do of Christianity) to be the exponents of humanism.

They have set up for State-worship a religion of nationalism, which is a very different thing; for by its very name, humanism stands for something of universal character, which concerns all races alike, and, if politically organized, would find its natural expression in internationalism. The totalitarian State, on the other hand, is an arbitrary dividing up of humanity into bits, a violent system of severance in racial rivalry, of fractions each claiming to be a whole.

I should guess that Hitler and Mussolini would both regard with contempt the idea of labelling themselves as humanists. Humanism is not what they are after.

Let us, for contrast, consider one or two of the great humanists of history, Confucius was a humanist. He had, as I read his teaching, no discoverable God, but he had a high and beneficent code of conduct and of morality; one of his sayings, uttered five hundred years before the coming of Christ, was "What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others."

And the great Chinese civilization, of which Confucius was one of the directing influences, was the most pacific form of civilization in the world's history. In

China the military career and the military caste were never so highly exalted as they were, and have been to this day, in Western civilization.

China has been more conquered than conquering, and yet has managed to survive. It absorbed its conquerors in the past; it may absorb them again—and remain China still. And the religion of that great and ancient civilization (which can hardly be judged a failure) is largely a religion of humanism.

Is it not, indeed, significant of that

become leader of the forces of the Reformation, and been able to impose upon it his wise and tolerant humanism, it would have been a better and a less bloodthirsty business.

In still later times, there was another great humanist, Rousseau. He was not a noble character, but the humanism of his teaching was one of the deciding forces which broke down and abolished the old feudalism, which had survived in France more ruthlessly and more repressively, under Christian dispensation, than in any other country of Western

Where the city stands with the brawniest breed of orators and bards,
Where the city stands that is belov'd by these, and loves them in return and understands them,
Where no monument exists to heroes but in common words and deeds,
Where thrift is in its place, and prudence is in its place,
Where the men and women think lightly of the laws,
Where the slave ceases, and the master of slaves ceases,
Where the populace rises at once against the never-ending audacity of elected persons,
Where fierce men and women pour forth, as the sea to the whistle of death pours its sweeping and unripped waves,
Where outside authority enters always after the precedence of inside authority,
Where the citizen is always the head and ideal, and President, Mayor, Governor and what not, are agents for pay,
Where children are taught to be laws to themselves, and to depend on themselves,
Where equanimity is illustrated in affairs,
Where speculations on the soul are encouraged,
Where women walk in public processions in the streets the same as the men;
Where the city of the faithfulest friends stands;
Where the city of the cleanliness of the sexes stands,
Where the city of the healthiest fathers stands,
Where the city of the best-bodied mothers stands,
There the great city stands.

★ ★

THAT great city is not yet; but that voice of prophecy is the voice of true humanism. Why, then, should we of the peace movement take hold of that word, which stands for so much that is noble in human aspiration and thought, and throw it to the dogs, who do not know and do not care what Humanism really means?

Laurence Housman

Dreamers

Soldiers are dreamers; when
the guns begin.
They think of firelit homes,
clean beds and wives.
I see them in foul dug-outs
gnawed by rats,
And in the ruined trenches,
lashed with rain,
Dreaming of things they did
with balls and bats,
And mocked by hopeless longing
to regain
Bank holidays, and picture
shows and spats,
And going to the office in the
train.

—Siegfried Sassoon.

WHY HE DOESN'T STOP IT

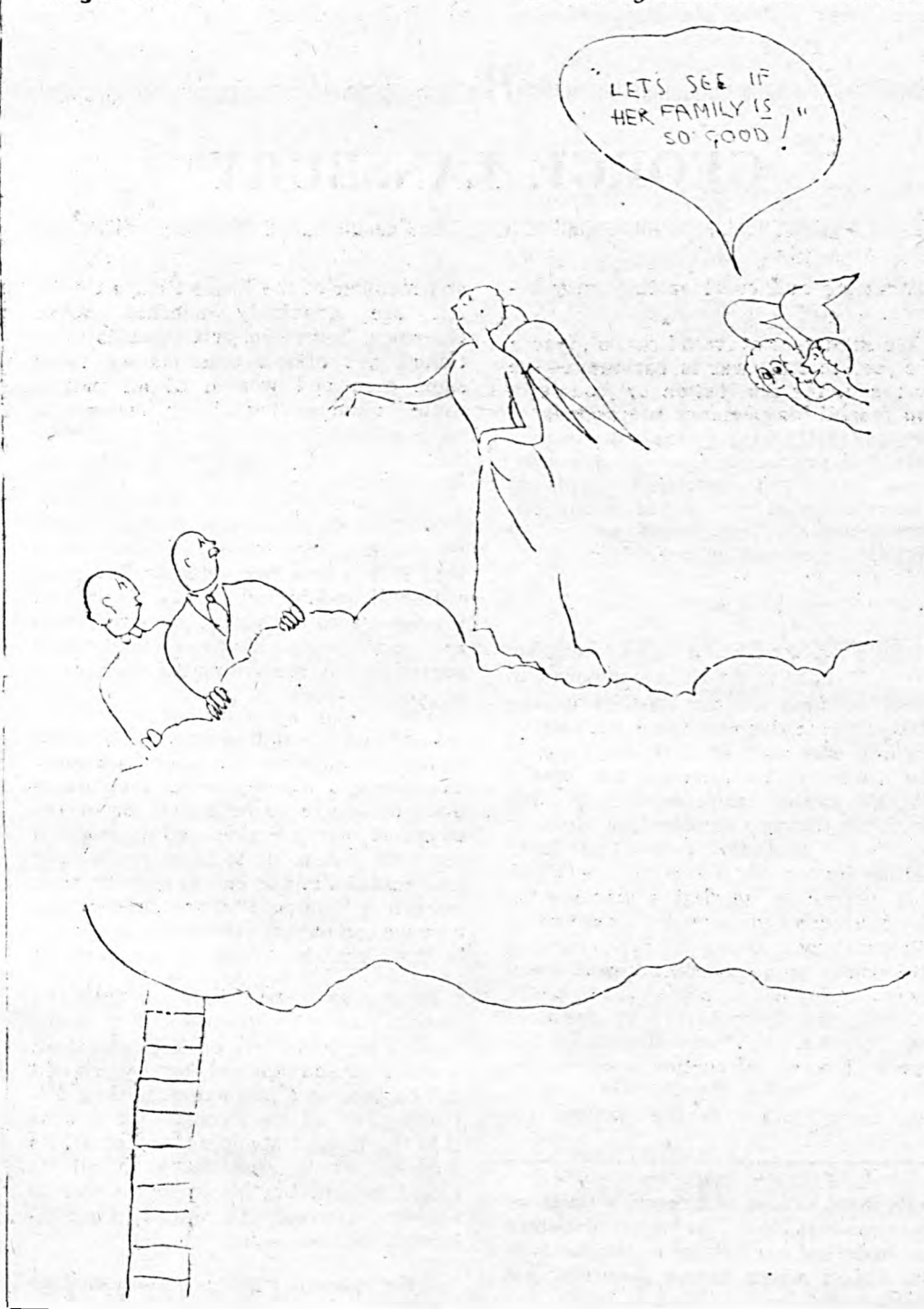
"If," we say readily, "God is holy and omnipotent, He would interfere and stop all this kind of thing"—meaning by 'this kind of thing' wars, persecutions, cruelties, Hitlerism, bolshevism, or whatever large issue happens to be distressing our minds at the time."

The Greatest Drama Ever Staged (Hodder & Stoughton, 6d.) considers this problem in all its aspects and shows that it might be put: "Why, sir, did He not cause your hand to rot off at the wrist before you signed your name to that dirty little bit of financial trickery?"

The author is none other than Dorothy L. Sayers, the celebrated crime novelist. Her book is a commentary on the Christian faith and is as exhilarating and shrewd as one would expect from the creator of Lord Peter Wimsey, detective.

"Angels Unite"—15

Drawn by ARTHUR WRAGG



non-military tradition which was theirs long centuries ago, that even today, when the Chinese people are undergoing massacres of their populations and destruction of their cities, from unjust aggression, they sent out over the chief city of their enemy a flight of aeroplanes to drop, not bombs, but messages pleading for good will and understanding? Was not that act nearer to true humanism than the acts which this Christian nation of ours contemplates doing with its aeroplanes, when next it goes to war?

★ ★

FOR another teacher of humanism, I might cite Erasmus, who, though a Christian, stood out conspicuously in his own day for a humanism (more especially in regard to war) which mediæval Christianity had not begun to envisage. Had Erasmus

civilization.

Coming much nearer to our own day, we have the humanism of Walt Whitman, one of the great voices of democracy, who, though not altogether a pacifist, had peace and liberty of life and conscience, and internationalism as his aim. What he taught was the very opposite of dictatorship. He had, indeed, a wholesome distrust of those who hold power and authority—a distrust expressed in those famous lines where he described the great city:

The place where a great city stands is not the place of wharves, docks, manufactures, deposits of produce merely,

Nor the place of ceaseless salutes of newcomers or the anchor-lifters of the departing,

Nor the place of the best libraries and schools, nor the place where money is plenteiest,

Nor the place of the most numerous population.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all
who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter
what their approach. Its activity is not
confined to the registration of those who are
opposed to war, but promotes and encourages
a constructive peace policy. Members are
attached to local groups designed to achieve
a communal peace mentality and extend the
influence of pacifism by propaganda and
personal example.

Give your pledge on a post-card:—

**I renounce war and I will never support
or sanction another.**

Sign this, add your address, and send the
card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent
Street, London, W.1.

June 11, 1938

When a Right is a Horror

THE British Government is at last
trying to do something to stop the
wholesale massacre of men, women and
children. They have left it terribly late.
By waiting so long they have largely
wasted the great assets that could have
been mobilized to their side if they had
acted before Mussolini had made up his
mind to conquer Abyssinia with mustard
gas and to help General Franco to bomb
Spanish democracy into submission and
before a ruthless Japanese Government
had embarked on a campaign of indis-
criminate terrorism in Canton.

It is now terribly late. But we may
be glad that they are at length trying
and, if they do the right thing now, it
may still be not too late.

There is one great asset at the disposal
of people who want to save the world
from this horror. The force of world
opinion still counts for something; a few
years ago it counted for far more. In
every country in the five continents,
even in the fascist countries where free
opinion cannot be expressed, there are
millions of people who see that air bom-
bardment means the destruction of civil-
ized life. They know, as Mr. Baldwin
told us, that however much we may or-
ganize ARP and all the rest of it, our
Government really relies for defence on
the fantastic horror of being able to
bomb more of the civilian population of
our neighbours more quickly than they
can bomb ours.

At the Disarmament Conference our
Government was so blind that it did
nothing effective with other govern-
ments to stop bombing from the air.
Lord Londonderry, who was then Minis-
ter for Air, even boasted that he had
with difficulty preserved the use of the
bombing plane. We may doubt if his
action alone was responsible for the fail-
ure to stop bombing then. But that a
British statesman should have made such
a boast is significant. He wanted to pre-
serve bombing for "police purposes"—
which means for keeping native people
who may not want us as policemen from
the danger that they may be free from
our rule.

Because we were so anxious to pre-
serve this right to bomb helpless na-
tives, Dr. Goebbels has an effective re-
tort when our protest against other
people doing the same thing, on a larger
scale. He retorts that our protest sounds
foolish in view of the way we practise
bombing on the North-West Frontier of
India. We do not need to accept Dr.
Goebbels's figure about the number of
killed and wounded. He is a past master
of propaganda and invents what pleases
him, knowing that the German people
cannot see or hear any reply that comes
from Britain except in the garbled ver-
sion he provides.

**But when all the exaggeration is
written off, it remains true that our pro-**

"Refuse to be drawn off into side issues"—

All War is Barbarous

WE are all ashamed, dis-
tressed, and worried when
we read of the fearful,
brutal, devastating slaughter which
has taken place, and is still likely
to take place in China and Spain,
on the North-West Frontier of
India and other less known parts of
the world, where the "white man's
burden" includes the horrible
"necessity," so we are told, of
using "aerial bombing" of vil-
lages, flocks and herds, for the pur-
pose of preserving "law and
order."

All of us welcome every sincere effort
made by Mr. Cordell Hull, Mr. Cham-
berlain, Lord Halifax, His Holiness the
Pope and our own Archbishop, for end-
ing the present barbarous slaughter.

Speaking for myself, however, it is not
possible for me to think of "aerial bomb-
ing" in isolation, cruel, bestial and horri-
ble as these methods are, and even more

retaliation, until at the end of the War
it was possible to say the Allies had
got together an overwhelming air force
which was to be used against the Ger-
man towns if the German statesmen re-
fused to sign the Peace Treaties.

**I am not passing judgment on our
generals or government. I want to
stress the fact that the story of the
ages proves conclusively how impossi-
ble it is to make war anything else
than a crime against mankind, a crime
which becomes more and more bestial
as knowledge and science is applied to
the production of engines of slaughter.**

IN the House of Commons it is
hard to believe one's senses. All
my fellow-members are as humane as

served except on a foundation of peace.
Everything we know of the past and
present proves this is not the case.

THE whole world of men is
waiting to discover a way of
life which will give us unity in action.

Our thoughts will never be based on
uniformity; we have yet to understand
that progress is not to be measured by
the ability or knowledge possessed by
the few. We have not yet begun to
discover how to live together even in
small associations, and at the same time
preserve the full expression in word and
deed of the mind of each.

*We are moving toward that goal and
this revolt of young people against ARP
and the war services in general is not a
cowards' revolt. We do not expect life
to be a bed of roses. We are ready to
sacrifice and be sacrificed just as much
as those who go to the wars.*

We consider service in wars, slaying
and destroying old and young, rich and
poor, is not merely barbarous, but also
a stupid, futile folly—a folly which
destroys and will always destroy truth,
justice, freedom, liberty, culture, and
religion.

We who stand out against the majority
in this matter are under no delusions
about dictators or democrats when war
is waged by either. Always the same
results follow. Not our conscience only,
but our reason bids us revolt.

It may be that we in our generation,
be we young or old, may fail. I think
not. Already there are many signs and
symbols that at long last the still, small
voice of truth is being heard in the
world. I do not say reason or religion
is triumphant. No, something much
more potent is working like yeast in the
minds of all in authority.

These foul, fearsome means and
methods of warfare grow more evil
every day. Invention follows invention
with devilish rapidity. None can set a
limit, consequently those who rule and
guide our destinies are as full of fear
of the future as we are. Never forget
statesmen are the same flesh and blood
as we are, on the average they are no
more able to visualize the future than
we are, neither are they on the average
more cruel than ourselves.

What is called public opinion can be
terribly callous and brutal. Always in
war-time, sometimes in days of peace,
the multitude cries out for reprisals and
vengeance against what they describe
as national and international crimes. It
is this attitude of mind that has to be
changed. We shall not save British
babies by being prepared to bomb babies
in Berlin.

SO comrades and all who read
this, I would bid you preserve
your faith by refusing to be drawn off
into side issues.

Wars are the result of man's stupidity
and ignorance. *We who think we have
seen the light of reason must not be
weary or grow weary in declaring our
faith that the causes of war can be re-
moved, that the great blessing of peace
is attainable once nations are willing to
accept and practise the truth that in this
world there is room for us all, and that
sharing our intelligence and all the
world has to give with each other is the
way of life.*

War has been tried. Let our policy
of comradeship, cooperation, and love be
given a chance, and take as our slogan
"Love is life. Hatred is death."

By
GEORGE LANSBURY

destructive and cruel as they may be-
come.

*We cannot, or at least I cannot, ignore
the fact that all war is barbarous—the
blockade, the destruction of foodstuffs,
the fearful blasphemous propaganda of
lies and half-truths which are part and
parcel of pre-war and war propaganda,
must compel all reasonable people to
understand that war cannot in any cir-
cumstances be considered either as
merciful, civilized, or moral.*

THEREFORE it is our bounden
duty to do all in our power to
convince those who are shocked because
of the barbarities associated with aerial
warfare that such methods are entirely
due to the fact that, once war breaks
out, all nations adopt as their guiding
principle during wartime the devilish
doctrine "necessity knows no law,"
neither human nor divine.

A general or admiral who cares for
the life of his men is not expected to
allow victory to escape his grasp because
the victory may cause the loss of many
lives.

When the Zeppelins first appeared
over London everybody denounced this
new method of destruction as barbarous.
Very soon, however, politicians, editors,
and clergy joined in the clamour for

**tests must savour of hypocrisy until we
have made it clear that we are prepared
not to defend our Empire by the methods
we dislike when fascist countries use
them.**

The first necessity, if we want to or-
ganize decent opinion on our side, is to
make it clear to all the world that we
are not ourselves any longer imperialists.
No-one will take us very seriously unless
we show ourselves willing to abandon
the militarism on which our hold on
India is based and to share with those
who will share the economic advantages
of being first in the field in the game of
empire expansion.

That is the first thing to do if we want
to mobilize the small nations on our side
in a bid to save civilization as a whole
from the disaster that is overtaking
Canton and Barcelona. We must make
people believe that we protest not be-
cause we are afraid, but because we
mean to try and build a world of people
who do not want to bomb each other.
If we do that we shall be surprised at
the response that will still come, in spite
of our past follies, from all countries
which realize that fascism is the most
brutal kind of imperialism and the type
which is now the greatest danger to our
lives and liberties.

any member of the Peace Pledge Union.
All are genuinely shocked when
Guernica, Barcelona, or Canton is men-
tioned, yet almost unanimously these
same men and women of all parties
unite in demanding bigger, faster, and
more powerful aerial bombers. Scarcely
a voice is heard, except that of a pacifist,
in protest.

We who do make a protest are asked
what else can be done. I can only reply
that if it is true that another European
war will end in loss to everybody and
a relapse into barbarism, passive resist-
ance can bring nothing worse and would
indeed give us something infinitely more
important—peace.

I am concerned, however, to point out
that if we ourselves for any reason bomb
the enemy's military objectives where-
ever these are to be found, or in the
event of war are prepared to make a
supreme endeavour to kill more women
and children of our enemy quicker than
he can kill ours, I cannot understand
how we can expect others who are guilty
of these crimes to listen to our protests.

Be that as it may, it is my duty and
the duty of all who hate war of every
kind to support every protest against all
barbarities and demand that war should
not be used as a method of settling dis-
putes. Put all the strength we possess
into the task of stripping war of all its
glamour, show each depth in all its
naked horror, but never forget war is
war and can only be waged in an in-
human soul-destroying manner.

**We who denounce aerial warfare
must give up building bombers and
high explosives, and we who all agree
that war is irreligious and against the
mind and teaching of Jesus must re-
fuse to take part in such a crime.**

Some theological teachers are telling
us that peace is not an end in itself, that
there are greater things to be cared for.
I do not understand this gospel of un-
reason. Liberty, truth, justice, nay life
itself, cannot be fully developed unless
we live at peace with each other. It is
sheer nonsense for these learned persons
to try and make us believe religion,
truth, and justice can exist and be pre-

—Another Sponsor—

of the Peace Pledge Union

Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P.

will write on this page

—next week—

£400 A YEAR FOR A.R.P. OFFICIALS But 2s. Cut in Allowance for Unemployed

WHILE air raid precautions officers are being appointed at a salary of £300 and even £400 a year, Sir Samuel Hoare is appealing to the workers to volunteer "for the love of the thing."

This contrast has prompted an unemployed man in Knaresborough, Yorkshire to protest against the injustice of the situation.

"If war did not break out for five or six years these gentlemen would cost the State £1,500 or £2,000," he pointed out to PEACE NEWS. "Yet the unemployed are being told 'the winter is over and the cost of food is reduced.'"

As a result, the 2s. per week added by the Unemployment Assistance Board "specially to meet the increased expenses of living during the winter months" has been withdrawn.

29s. FOR THREE PEOPLE

Consequently this man will now receive 29s a week for his family of three. Of that amount 8s. 2d. goes in rent.

"I am determined to expose injustice that men may hate war and seek justice," he told PEACE NEWS. "I have spoken to many of the Yorkshire West Riding Council members. It appears that the workers are enrolling as members of the ARP. But what will happen to a conscientious objector? Victimization is the answer."

Half Measures Are No Good for Peace or War

From Our Own Correspondent

If we want to arm let us do so to the very limit of our ability, but if we want peace let us be prepared to give everything for that too, said Mr. Cecil H. Wilson, MP, at a meeting in the Hogarth Hall, Chiswick, last week.

Mr. Wilson referred in some detail to the Van Zeeland Report and said that we must learn to understand the foreigners' point of view.

Mr. John Barclay, the other speaker, said that peace was not just a question of keeping armed truces, but was a way of life and an attitude. Members of the Peace Pledge Union, he said, were adopting the method of non-violent resistance. He knew from personal experience that it worked.

RECONSTRUCTION NEEDED

Britain must disarm completely and pursue a policy of reconciliation and reconstruction abroad.

A resolution put to the meeting declaring

That peace is only possible through international economic and political reconstruction, and that this meeting believes that war is a crime which must never again be used as an instrument for settling disputes,

was passed by all but one of nearly 200 people present. The resolution was subsequently forwarded to the Prime Minister.

The Vicar of Chiswick, Prebendary E. C. Rich, the chairman, although not himself a pacifist, said that he hoped that everyone at the meeting would find it possible to sign a pledge card. What had to be done was to change the hearts of men, and Mr. Rich admitted that he was ashamed of the Church's attitude toward war.

Pastors Win Round 2

A NUMBER of concessions are understood to have been made by the Reich Church Minister, which have the effect of releasing German pastors from the position in which they were placed by the recent order that they should take an oath of loyalty to Hitler and the State similar to that taken by State officials.

Dr. Werner, State-appointed head of the Evangelical Church, is believed to have accepted the point of view that a Church authority is not in a position to demand a political oath.

The reservation relating to ordination vows which the pastors wished to make will now be allowed, and interpretations of the oath which seemed to place loyalty to Hitler and the State above loyalty to Christ have been disclaimed by Dr. Werner.

These concessions follow refusal by many pastors to take the oath as demanded by the Church Ministry. In 1934 the imposition of an oath of loyalty to the State was successfully resisted by the Church.

Dr. Niemöller, however, is still in prison, with every prospect of remaining there until he promises not to take an active part in the Church struggle.

Labour Meeting Declares for Pacifism

From Our Own Correspondent

AT the regular monthly meeting held by the Labour Party in Andover last week a motion declaring

that collective security as a means of securing world peace is impracticable, and pacifism is the only practical alternative

was carried by a small majority, following a debate in which the Labour candidate for the division spoke against pacifism.

EFFECT OF MANIFESTO?

The motion was proposed by Andover Peace Group, members of which distributed copies of the Peace Pledge Union Manifesto before the meeting started.

It is hoped that pacifists will take a similar initiative among Labour Party branches elsewhere.

Cinema Offers Publicity to "Peace News"

From Our Own Correspondent

While a member of the Glasgow group of the Peace Pledge Union was selling PEACE NEWS outside a very popular cinema (the Regal), the manager came out and told him he was interested in pacifism.

The manager added that he would be very glad to show a slide on the screen every Saturday, announcing that the paper was for sale outside the theatre.

There is reason to believe that another centrally placed cinema will help in the same way. In addition, two well-known central bookshops are to take stocks of PPU literature and a third one may do likewise.

Peace Shop at Scarborough

Scarborough group of the PPU is opening on Wednesday a peace shop which will remain open until June 22. It is a corner shop immediately opposite the Opera House and it is hoped that a large number of residents and holiday-makers will pay it a visit.

Americans Get to Grips with Peace Problem

END HUNGER & DESPAIR TO END WAR

AMONG the messages sent to the recent National Peace Congress in Bristol was the following from the National Peace Conference in New York:—

Government officials, newspaper correspondents, publicists, and public leaders generally are agreed that the peace movement in this country has finally come to grips with the heart of the peace problem. We are determined to carry on an educational programme looking toward the ultimate convening of a world economic conference.

The National Council for Prevention of War is one of the sections of the American peace movement taking a large part in the educational campaign. Frederick J. Libby, secretary of the Council, showed the part he wanted the USA to play in world affairs when he debated with Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, in Madison Square Garden, New York.

"REMOVE HUNGER AND DESPAIR"

"Our country," he said, "as the nation that started the economic warfare now raging by enacting the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Bill, should lead the world in the removal of the causes of war. And we must not exclude the dictatorships."

"In fact, it is with the countries which in their desperation have followed dictators that this programme of economic appeasement is particularly important."

"Hunger and despair elected Hitler. Only the removal of the causes of his

power will make him unnecessary. Contented peoples do not want war.

"Ultimately—and by that I mean as soon as public opinion can be made ready for it—we must organize our world."

VOTERS' CHANCE AT ELECTIONS

American voters will have an opportunity to influence the course of events this year for, as is pointed out in *Peace Action* (journal of the NCPW) there are "469 men to be elected to the Senate and House [of Representatives] to make policies that will push us closer to war, or keep us out of war; 435 Representatives and 34 Senators."

"The Congress we elect in 1938 will hold office in what are likely to be the most critical years of our lifetime."

Even *Life Insurance Courant*, a journal circulating among life insurance underwriters, urges a similar view, and says underwriters should take a leading role in working for world peace (reports *Nofrontier News Service*).

The journal urges that the coming primary elections should be used to "winnow the wheat from the chaff." Generalizations such as "keeping out of war" and "hating war" do not suffice.

All candidates, it says, will give lip service to peace. Candidates must be pressed for precise commitments on issues such as the war dictatorship Bill, huge armaments, their definition on defence, and similar matters.

Action that everyone can take is suggested by the National Council for Prevention of War, which advises people to:

1. Write to your Senators and Congressmen and ask them how much money has been voted for the army and navy this year, including the sums authorized but not appropriated;
2. Write to the President asking him why he wants six additional battleships and the Pacific air bases. Ask him who is going to attack us;
3. Write to your Congressmen and ask them to support the Ludlow discharge petition for a disarmament conference.

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NEWS from the FOUR CORNERS

Home Counties

STROOD, Rochester, Chatham, and Gillingham comprise one large area which contains not only a population of roughly 150,000, but also a naval dock-yard, naval barracks, marine barracks, and Royal Engineers' barracks.

Consequently the PPU groups at **Chatham** and **Rochester** find their work "uphill." Nevertheless, during the first black-out in the district last autumn, with the help of members in the region a successful poster parade was held. Plans were laid for a similar parade on Tuesday of last week, when the Thames Estuary was again subjected to "air raids."

Among other group activity have been talks by various people on why they are not pacifists. The ARP Officer for Chatham promised that either he or his assistant would open the discussion at a Chatham group meeting held on Wednesday.

It appears that the meeting held by **Orpington** group and addressed by Bertrand Russell was even more successful than was indicated in our report last week. The opinion had been expressed locally that the Orpington Village Hall had never been really full for a meeting of any description and that no-one would be able to fill it. Actually, for the PPU meeting, the hall was packed.

Many weeks of intensive work by the local PPU group (covering also neighbouring places such as Petts Wood and Farnborough) culminated on the Saturday evening previous to the meeting with a poster parade at a time when the streets were most crowded. Twelve special and artistic hand-written posters were among those used. (Some of them have been consigned to the Literature Department at 96 Regent Street, and are available on loan to other groups if required.) In addition, 24 other large hand-drawn posters were displayed prominently during the fortnight before the meeting, and 5,000 invitation cards were distributed.

The group also went to the trouble of sending three dozen specially typed letters to local organizations of all kinds, interviewed leaders of some of them, as well as every clergyman in the area, and circularized members of the cooperative movement. With all this spade-work the group linked a special scheme of re-visitation of every non-active local signatory, with most encouraging results.

Garden parties are in season again, at any rate in the West Kent region. There was one at **Bexley** a fortnight ago, and another is being held at **Gravesend** today.

Rambles, also, are going strongly in this region, which, incidentally, now comprises 29 individual groups "and some odd bits."

Each Sunday, from 7.30 until dusk, an open-air meeting is held at Whitefield's Mount, **Blackheath**.

Bexleyheath and district branch reports that it has 761 signatories, of whom ten percent are really active in one direction or another. The branch's report on the past year's work is a record of real activity balanced by planned study and discussion, while the social side has not been forgotten.

The Odeon Cinema at Ramsgate has just given a week's run to *Territorial Cavalcade*, during which there was a recruiting office at the cinema. On the Wednesday detachments of the Territorials marched through the town to the cinema. **Ramsgate** and **Broadstairs** PPU and FoR members, assisted by PPU members from **Canterbury**, distributed leaflets along the route of the march and outside the cinema. Much interest was aroused, and some were keen to hear the pacifist case. Although there was no opposition of any kind, no mention of the pacifist activity appeared in the local press.

So successful has cooperation been between the Peace Pledge Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Methodist Peace Fellowship in **Ilford** that an interlocking committee has been formed to arrange joint efforts on the occasion of public meetings, poster parades, &c. A public meeting was held by the three bodies last week, when Dr. Leighton Yates and the Rev. J. E. Trevithick spoke in the Town Hall on "Christianity and ARP."

Abingdon has been another group to publish an annual report recently; once again the record is one of solid achievement. This group is holding its annual meeting on Monday week.

The first group meeting in **Woking** was held the week before last, when the attendance was large enough to divide the group into two. Last week the two parts had their first meetings separately.

A combined poster parade outside Northolt Aerodrome was held on Empire Day by members from **Uxbridge**, **Ruislip**, **Hanwell**, **Harrow**, **Kenton**, **Greenford**, and **Wembley** groups, and leaflets were distributed.

London

Reorganization has been proceeding at **Highgate**, and at a recent meeting arrangements were made for active members to contact other signatories. In addition, a sub-group has been formed of signatories on the **Holly Lodge Estate**.

One member has undertaken to display notices of meetings on local advertisement boards, while another has been appointed press secretary. The Manifesto is being sent to all local clergy, and contacts made with various organizations. A possible future development is the formation of a Drama Group.

Midlands

Although it is hardly summer yet, **Stoke-on-Trent** branch is preparing its programme for the autumn and winter.

During the summer it is intended to visit "live but inactive members" to try to arouse interest in the groups. For this purpose a duplicated magazine-bulletin is being produced.

This does not mean that the groups have been inactive; a report on the past six months reveals that a variety of activity has been carried on.

One piece of work is particularly interesting. In January the branch called a meeting of all the ministers who were known to be pacifist. The result was an attendance of four.

A month later a conference was called of the same ministers and delegates from various bodies sympathetic to pacifism. This time nine people attended. This small body formed itself—together with several absent members who were co-opted—into a speaker's group, and dates were arranged with local churches.

It is hoped to use this speakers' group still more in the coming autumn.

When Canon Morris was in the town recently for a public meeting the group was able to arrange a tea-discussion for ministers. A hundred and forty circulars were sent out and fourteen ministers attended; a good discussion ensued, however, and it was felt to be useful work.

North

The return to an "open-door" policy for colonial territories as an urgent first step toward general appeasement was the broad conclusion contained in three lectures at the recent weekend school held by the **West Yorkshire Federation**. The lecturer was Mr. H. D. Dickinson, Lecturer in Economics at Leeds University, and under the general title "The Economic Foundations of Peace" he gave an objective study of "Imperialism and War," "The Colonial Position Today," and "Peace and Economic Policy."

Twenty-seven youthful members from different groups in the region spent a delightful weekend together at the FHA guest-house on the edge of the famous Ilkley Moor, and their number was doubled for the lectures by an influx of members from adjacent groups.

The weekend passed in an atmosphere of real comradeship under the able and genial charge of the Federation Chairman, C. Kenneth Frost, who also led the discussion at a short Sunday morning service on adult school lines, by a thought-provoking address on "Loyalties."

Mr. Dickinson not only proved himself a thorough master of his subject, with the rare capacity for passing knowledge to his listeners in an understandable form, but was also infinitely painstaking in answering questions both in and out of lecture times. In addition he threw himself wholeheartedly into the hilarious social life of the weekend—and turned out at 6.30 in the morning with hardy members for a pre-breakfast walk over the moors!

Members returned refreshed and stimulated for greater endeavour, and are now looking forward to June 25, when they will meet again at the Federation's annual business meeting and social as guests of **Leeds** group at the latter's headquarters.

North-East

Speakers from the **Hull** group have put the pacifist viewpoint at a meeting of the St. John Ambulance Society, while a speaker from the society was invited to a discussion with the PPU.

One of the PPU members, Councillor S. H. Smith, spoke at a meeting of the Hull Education Committee against the granting of facilities to the Naval Personal Service League to lecture boys

of school-leaving age on the advantages of a naval career. The committee turned down a request for facilities to be given.

Yet another PPU member, the Rev. Maurice Clack, has been in the public eye lately. He has sent a letter to local organizations offering to provide special facilities for morning worship for those wishing to spend most of Sunday in the country or at the seaside.

Under the Oak Tree

By LEONARD READ

(on behalf of the Basque Fund)

ON June 8 fell the anniversary of the arrival of our Basque children at Langham, and they have been turning their thoughts over that year. Their memories were put on paper; to their loyal friends in the PPU and beyond, singularly generous with their cooperation and sympathy, all of these impressions would be intriguing; here are a few excerpts, at least.

Edmundo Garcia (13): There is a great difference between English and Spanish life. Spanish character is merry and optimistic; English character is energetic and not so merry. In England songs are never heard in the streets; however, this happens in Spain. But English people are as good as Spanish.

Berta Martinez (10): The difference between Bilbao and here is very great. The biggest difference of life for us is to be separated for the first time from our dear parents and brothers; we have found some other differences but none so important as that. Another of the differences is that we were not accustomed to work; the third is that women smoke; and the fourth is that here everyone rides on bicycles.

Maria-Angeles (14): What is most strange to us on our walks is to see scarcely a single mountain, comparing with those of our dear Basque country... What has caused us sadness has been the departure of several of our companions... We miss going to school, the excursions, to the river, to the seaside, to the mountains, and those lovely Basque rambles when each little village shows the visitor what it does best.

Vicente Rodriguez (15): By and by the organization of the colony was working... We knew that we ought to make some plays, and working and playing at the same time we were able to do several scenes. Later we gave a performance in a garden in Colter. Always we await the coming of the next day in the hope of receiving news from our family. Saturdays were and are still cleaning days. Everyone has his work, and in a few hours cleaning is over.

Luis Rivera (13): We arrived at a beautiful house, its outside walls covered with ivy, in which little birds were singing as if participating in our joy. They received us in a special way; with a love which I shall never forget. We came into a room where some people looked at us with such good will that we smiled to them affectionately.

All donations should be sent to Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, W.1. They will be most gratefully received.

Co-operators not Pacifists?

Speaking at a luncheon on the eve of the seventeenth annual Cooperative Congress which commenced in Scarborough on Tuesday, Mr. G. Major, who presided, referred to the many Co-operators who had been imprisoned or executed since he presided over the congress seventeen years ago. He looked forward to the day when the elementary right of such men and women to associate and work together for their mutual life must be conceded throughout the world. Cooperation, he said, was the answer to the economic problems which were the cause of war.

Mr. Henry J. May declared that co-operators' love of peace was in no sense pacifism; it was a determination in the last resort to make the supreme sacrifice so that those who came after them could enjoy the fruits in the restoration of the world to sanity.

A warning was voiced by Mr. A. V. Alexander when he addressed another function in connexion with the congress on Sunday. In three years' time, he said, unless the National Government was defeated, the National Debt would be at least £8,500,000,000 and it might reach £9,000,000,000.

Members write on—

Adult School Movement

I WAS much interested in your reference to the Adult School Movement in the "Letter from the Editor."

As a worker in the movement for some years I should like to see many more "PPU-ers" join the Adult School Movement, and vice versa as I am sure it would be to the great advantage of both.

The movement, while being an essentially religious organization, is non-sectarian and non-political. An enormous variety of subjects is discussed in the schools and the whole movement is run on completely democratic principles, each school being quite free and independent. Information may be had from the National Adult School Union, 30 Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1.

I myself belong to a women's school which meets at the Friends Meeting House, Peckham, and we are always pleased to see visitors.

(Mrs.) M. BARKER.

131 Waller Road,
New Cross, S.E.14.

Poster Parades

I HAVE had a fair amount of experience of poster parades, and I am convinced that they are worth while and effective, but it has often struck me that on many occasions opportunities are lost for making them even more effective.

With regard to the wording on posters we should aim at:—

1. Brevity;
2. Clarity and simplicity of expression; and
3. Forcefulness without unnecessary aggressiveness.

I am strongly of the opinion that the posters should read consecutively, with a progressive idea, and should not be used in a haphazard way.

Would it not be helpful if Headquarters were to issue several series of posters specially for use on parades (say six to twelve in a series, which could be repeated if necessary in a big parade), dealing with different aspects of PPU work, ARP, general pacifist policy, and so on?

WINIFRED RAWLINS.

2 Rotherfield Avenue,
Bexhill-on-Sea.

UP THE GARDEN PATH

By
BESOM

HOSPITAL needs are greater, says the report of King Edward's Hospital Fund for London, because of the rise in prices, the constant need for better buildings and equipment, and the cost of administrative changes (such as the provision of better conditions for nurses).

The following, by a member of the Peace Pledge Union (W. A. Rathkey) in *Medicine Today and Tomorrow*—seems apt.

Old Mother Hospital
Said it would cost little
To get all her patients quite well:
But when she applied
To the State, they replied:
Could you do with a sixteen-inch shell?

CAN GERMANY, CAN WE?

The *Berliner Tageblatt* asks:

Can the present Czech State only exist behind a forest of bayonets and behind the barricades defended by heavy weapons which have been erected in this peaceful land?

There seems something funny about this, but perhaps it's really too tragic to be a laughing matter.

COMMON SENSE

Premier Hints at Attempt to Limit Bombing.—Newspaper headline.

We cannot dispense with powerful long-distance machines which can resist attack by destroying the enemy bases.—Sir Thomas Inskip.

Swift round the world the peaceful message ran

Thou shalt not bomb (unless your neighbours can).

For after all it's only common sense
To bomb the foreigner in self-defence.

FIRST BARRICADES IN CLASS WAR

A 200 yards-long road at Dartford, Kent, is divided in two by an unclimbable fence. Each end has a different name. Brandon Road has fewer children, higher rents, and the fence was erected to prevent communication with adjoining Marriott Road.

Of course, loving one's neighbour went out of fashion a whole long time ago. Especially when one's neighbour has less money and more children.

GOERING'S VIRTUES

In a recent official biography of Nazi No. 2, by Dr. Erich-Gritzbach, chief of the Prussian Press Bureau, the following are postulated as his three outstanding "virtues": 1. Chivalry; 2. Jew-baiting; 3. Tenderness.

—Parade.

BEER OR BATTLESHIPS?

The month's thought: Every year the nation spends £240 millions on liquor. A battleship costs about £6 million, so that every year the value of forty battleships is consumed in drink. The former often destroys, the latter always defends us. The first is usually for oneself, the second is for us all.

—Owestry Deanery Magazine.

And we even share it with other nations sometimes.

THE PLEASURE'S THEIRS

A treat for the children—modern style. The Royal Welch Fusiliers . . . are holding an "at home" at Wrexham Barracks at the end of the month. One of the features of the entertainment for the public will be the pleasure of donning masks and entering a gas-filled room. Children, as well as their parents, will be able to enjoy this.

—Sheffield Telegraph.

GUILTY

My husband hasn't come home for two days.

What do you think has happened?

I'm afraid he's become a Russian General.

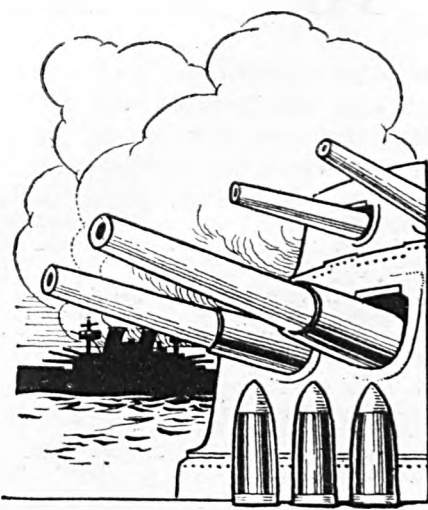
—Le Petit Parisien.

WISDOM

If security is our object, it does not matter what our foreign policy is.

—Sir Thomas Inskip.

NONSENSE ABOUT



THE purveyors of a certain kind of literature designed to appeal especially to boys seem determined that those who read it shall carry on the already archaic but traditional belief that the end of an arms race is some sort of reward for the winner.

In recent issues of *Modern Boy*, *Gem*,

"THE GREAT ARMS RACE"

IN PAPERS FOR BOYS

Magnet, *Triumph*, *Sports Budget*, *Champion*, *Detective Weekly*, *Boy's Cinema and Thriller*, what is called "the great armament race" has been conducted. The first "lap" of the race being over (how disappointed they will be when they find there's only one "lap"—and that brought to a premature end—in the real arms race), five bicycles and 2,000 other prizes have been awarded to those who have collected most stamps of a particular kind printed in those journals.

These stamps represent anti-aircraft guns, bombers, submarines, battleships, howitzers, searchlights, destroyers, and tanks. But only those with most bombers and submarines are the first prizewinners.

To complete the unrealism of this arms race, there are also prizes for readers abroad who, so far from having to "fight" English readers for first

places, have prizes assured for the leaders in their own "heats."

A dread thought has occurred to us. Suppose some bright lad had imagination enough to put the words of the competition "blurb" (suitably adapted) into the mouth of an armorer addressing the governments of the world!

It would read something like this:—

When you have disposed of the bomber and submarine dispute, keep all the other arms you have collected safely. There are still ten more colonies and 4,000 other prizes to be given away. More arms will be bought next month, and at the end of next year you can send in for the second year's prizes. So keep at it, because even if you don't secure a prize this time, you still have other winning opportunities.

Looking at it that way, a boy might even determine that when he grew up he would not be so tragically childish as those of his elders who now enter for their arms race in the hope of winning the impossible prize of peace—or at least a consolation prize of a limited state of security.

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

17 Featherstone Buildings,

London, W.C.1.

THE story of an adventurous publication which quite puts in the shade the venture of faith that gave birth to PEACE NEWS lies behind this week's "anniversary" quotation from the *New Crusader* on page 5.

The *New Crusader* was founded by Wilfred Wellock some months after the War broke out. He produced it himself, but found sympathetic people to help to sell it.

Publishing pacifist literature was a risky and difficult business in the War, though it often amazes me how much did actually see the day—and make itself felt. So Mr. Wellock could only bring out the *New Crusader* occasionally, each issue having to wait till sufficient funds came in.

Raided by Police

THEN, when he was sent to prison, Theodora Wilson Wilson, who has written a number of children's books, wrote and asked him if she might carry on his work.

She did, and soon the paper, consisting of four pages, began to come out more or less regularly. When Mr. Wellock wrote the letter which we quote this week, it was already appearing weekly.

Later the *New Crusader* proved so effective that the authorities raided its offices and the Editor's flat. But that is another story that must wait.

Another War-Time Pacifist

ANOTHER stalwart of the pacifist movement whose active work for peace was not allowed to be prevented altogether by the war is the Rev. James Barr, the Labour MP.

A member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation since 1916, he was a great standby in those days, and a particular encouragement to those who were working under such difficulties in view of the scarcity of pacifist ministers in the Church. At that time he was the minister of St. Mary's United Free Church, Govan, Glasgow.

Mr. Barr is, of course, no less keen and active a pacifist now. In 1932 he wrote *The Church and War*, and his other publications on this question include *Christianity and War*, written so long ago as 1903.

If people in the South of England know little of him, it is mainly because he concentrates his activities in the North, and can only with difficulty find time to come South.

Esperanto "Stickers"

ESPERANTISTS, whose world congress will be held in London in the first week of August, are among the latest to use "stickers"—a word, by the way, that might mean anything, though I think most pacifists are familiar with

it as a description of stamps used for sticking on correspondence (and elsewhere) to advertise some cause.

A correspondent has sent me a whole string of the Esperanto stickers. Though all printed in red, there are a dozen different kinds separated only by the perforation.

The variety of languages and pictures thus conveying the one simple message, "Learn Esperanto" is remarkable. Half of them also carry the slogan "No more war," with appropriate pictures.

They are published by the Liberecana Suitezo, Et Guilleman, 407 Rue de Vaugirard, Paris 15e, France.

World-Wide Link for War Resisters

OF all the organizations lumped, rather indiscriminately, under the general heading of the peace movement, I do not think many can fairly claim more sympathy from the pacifist than can the War Resisters' International.

I do not say that without regard for the invidiousness of making compari-

sons; nor do I do so merely because the WRI is the only body to which the Peace Pledge Union is affiliated.

What I think justifies, perhaps more than anything else, the highest praise for the work done so quietly by this world-wide, yet far from wealthy, organization is that fact that while so many of us are doing our best, in comparative comfort, to advocate peace action, the WRI actively—and successfully—aids those who are suffering, even in peacetime, for their refusal of actual demands for military service.

It always seems to me a great pity that people cannot be told, in appropriately startling headlines, the really thrilling stories that lie behind the International's rescues of pacifists from prison, and, in some cases, death. But, of course, their work demands a cautiousness and tact and discretion of which the news-hungry journalist knows nothing!

Their latest effort, by the way (reported on page 3 of this issue) is another branch of their varied work, for it seeks to help refugees generally, not necessarily war resisters.

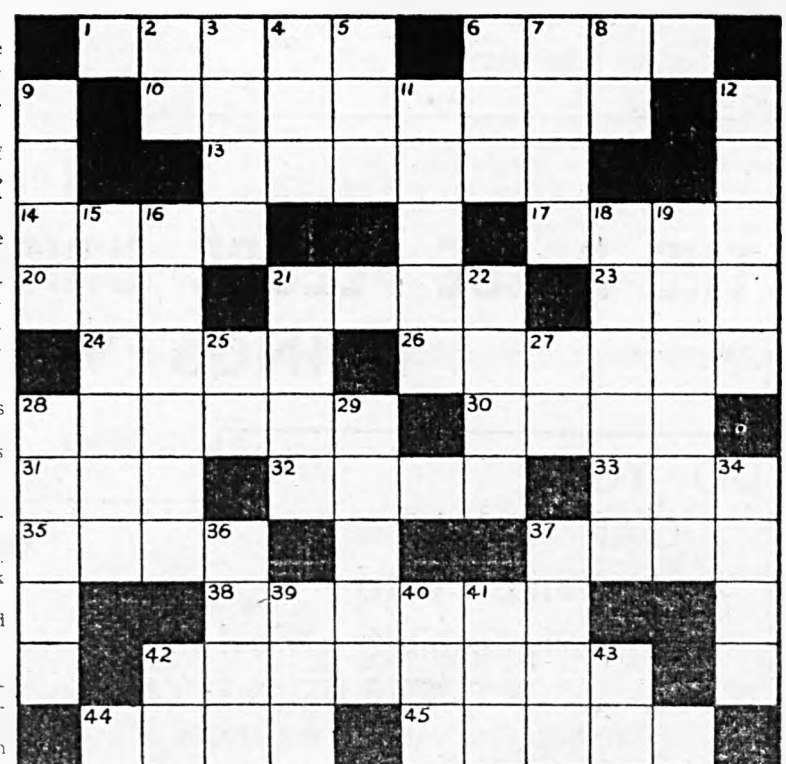
FOR YOUR AMUSEMENT

ACROSS

- Need locks in the plural, here singularly fast.
- This covers 7 down.
- The Scots son of an Irish darling, but sweet anyway.
- These are the answers.
- Muddled falsehoods are surrounded by water.
- Urges and origins.
- Man's end.
- Wander.
- The best this conceals it.
- Without turnings it is lengthy.
- Tends.
- Colour unit repeated.
- Red or finishing.
- Is this drink weak?
- Colloquially mad if this is loose.
- Aim.
- Airless this ancient city is unsatisfactory.
- There's a profit in this language.
- Ogled.
- An optical illusion is a tie with a reversed artist.
- This lady sounds thinner, minus fifty she's another.
- Residue.

DOWN

- A degree is reversed before lunch.
- After I'm put on a spike.
- Ereken at parties.
- Stop.
- Makes 5 a fruit.
- Anagram of 6 across.
- Advice to the noble English.
- Must be served but not eaten.
- A thousand in a coloured horse identifies this man of course.
- Throws or maybe busts.
- Only the start is fishy.



- Do you follow this article?
- What a fag!
- These colours are often fast in golf.
- Tear.
- Speechless.
- Give this body and it's no one.
- Follows an art st.
- Dues look upset.
- Followed by a direction it goes on a bed.
- One gets out of this by payment.
- Impetus from France.
- Make slow progress.
- This time it's an anagram of 41 down.
- Who will me of this turbulent priest?
- This organ is an anagram of 39 down.
- I am objectively this.
- An abbreviated instance.

NOTICE BOARD

To all members in Nottingham groups: If you are enthusiastic about pacifism please turn up to sell PEACE NEWS on Fridays and Mondays. Meet Friar Lane, 7 p.m. Do not leave it to a few.

Volunteers for poster parades, PEACE NEWS sales, &c., on June 18 and 19, meet at the "Green Man," Leytonstone, E.11, at 6 p.m.

W. Midlands Area, black-out, June 18: volunteers for poster parade urgently needed for afternoon or evening of June 18 in Wolverhampton. Communicate with H. Q. Smith, 1, Holly Grove, Penn Fields, Wolverhampton.

A Welsh-speaking volunteer to help in London. Wanted by HQ—must be thoroughly familiar with the modern orthography of literary Welsh in order to be able to correct Welsh manuscript and proofs.

Guy Metcalf, secretary, Midlands area, is expecting to leave district; all matter relating to area business should be addressed to Miss Norah North, 22 Hinckley Road, Forest East, Leicester, until successor is appointed.

City, W.1, W.C.1 & N.W.1 groups are combining to draw up rota of PEACE NEWS sellers for theatre and opera-house queues (which have been found good customers). Volunteers for any day of week (even Thursdays) please apply: City "Peace News" Secretary, City PPU Headquarters, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4.

Hull: volunteers needed to sell PEACE NEWS. Open-air meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at West Park Gates.

Bristol wants more PEACE NEWS sellers each Saturday between 2.30 p.m. and 5 p.m.—Write John Bamford, 24 Bromley Road, Horfield, Bristol, 7.

The lending library at headquarters, 96 Regent Street, will in future be open all day from 9.30 a.m. to 7 p.m.

Sheringham group hopes to start a Book Shop and Social Service Centre in the near future. Would anyone with a tiny income, willing to live on communal lines, like to join in this venture? Write to Miss Florence Kearney, Lavenham, North Street, Sheringham.

Young men and women wanted. Urgent. Aldershot Tattoo poster parades, today, and from 14 to 18, from 7.30 p.m. to 9.30 p.m. Details from C. W. Hope Gill, San Tal, Four Marks, Alton, Hants. Telephone: Ropley 51.

Arrangements have been made between Streatham, Battersea, and Wandsworth groups whereby outdoor meetings are held every Sunday as follows:—Clapham Common—3 p.m.; Streatham Common—6.30 p.m.

The War Resisters' International urgently needs help with translation work between Bulgarian and English. Anyone able to offer assistance kindly communicate with the Secretary, W.R.I. 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Glasgow.—Wanted, urgently, enthusiastic member to organize street-selling of PEACE NEWS. Also names of volunteers to go on a rota of sellers for minimizing the amount of labour per volunteer—also poster-paraders.—Write, Henry A. Barter, 181 Pitt Street, Glasgow, C.2.

Birmingham wants more P.N. sellers each Friday, one hour or more between 4.30 and 9.30 p.m. Write Wilfred S. Burt, 3 Innage Road, Northfield, Birmingham.

Volunteers are wanted to sell PEACE NEWS in Cambridge.—Write to Austin Davies, 28 Malcolm Street, Cambridge.

Miss Kathleen Hoskin, 2 Quintrel Road, Newquay, Cornwall, would be glad to hear from pacifists intending to visit Newquay and district during the summer months; more especially those willing to take part in meetings and demonstrations.

West Norwood group will meet on the second and fourth Tuesdays of the month in Room 4, St. Luke's Church Hall—adjacent to West Norwood tram terminus.

Kettering group now meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. in the Toller Lecture Room, Meeting Lane, Kettering.

PPU open air meetings every Sunday at 3.45 p.m. on Whitfield's Mount, Blackheath, near Cricket Pitch.

All welcome at prayers for peace at All Saints', Blackheath, S.E.3, 7.30 p.m., every Monday. Once a fortnight prayers are followed by a conference.

The "Why" and the "Wherefore"

Dr. Alfred Salter, MP, is the author of the latest Peace Pledge Union leaflet: *Peace or War? Balanced on a Razor Edge—Why?*

The *Why?* is repeated three times: "Why is the fear of imminent war hanging over the world? Why are we spending hundreds upon hundreds of millions on feverish rearmament? Why are Germany, Italy, Japan, and other nations disgruntled, dissatisfied, and threatening a breach of the peace?"

After answering the *Why?* the leaflet goes on to give the "wherefore." The case for a world conference is put, the "no truck with dictators" argument is answered, and it is shown that "war is certain unless there is conference—conciliation—cooperation."

The leaflet is obtainable from 96 Regent Street for 6d. per 100, plus postage.

Group Notes

THE MANIFESTO CAMPAIGN

IN order to bring the Manifesto before the country, the following scheme was passed at the Management Committee:—

1. A charabanc load of 32 picked members of the PPU, led by Canon Stuart Morris, will travel from Carlisle to London between July 19 and 24.

2. The distance covered each day will be sixty miles and frequent stops will be made for meetings, poster parades, and Manifesto distribution.

3. Each night a public meeting, arranged in advance by the local group, will be held, to be addressed by the "tourists" and by such national speakers as are able to cooperate with them.

4. Hospitality will be arranged for the tourists by the local members and fares will be paid from start to finish by the Union.

5. All groups on both sides of the route within a radius of twenty miles will be asked to send contingents to each meeting, and, if possible, to send cars to follow the charabanc on the last part of its journey to London.

6. On Sunday, July 24, a mass meeting will be held in Hyde Park. National speakers will join with the selected tourists to put forward the constructive case for pacifism as the only alternative to world war.

7. The charabanc will return on Sunday night to Carlisle.

8. On Monday, July 25, there will be a mass "lobbying" in the House of Commons, for which a representative from each parliamentary constituency will be asked to volunteer to carry a copy of the Manifesto.

Will group leaders and others please communicate immediately with me, sending names of suitable persons, trained speakers and propagandists to fill the vacant seats, clearly stating their qualifications.

At the same time, at least one member from each parliamentary constituency will be needed to volunteer for the lobbying on the Monday.

This outline is being rapidly filled in and the route chosen provisionally will

pass through or near the following towns: Carlisle, Penrith, Kendal, Singleton, Settle, Nelson, Burnley, Manchester, Macclesfield, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Stafford, Wolverhampton, Wednesbury, Birmingham, Warwick, Banbury, Bicester, Aylesbury, Amersham and London.

During the next two weeks groups on this route will be informed of the exact time and arrangements. Here is a chance for the initiative and energy of all to make each successive "lap" of the journey more successful than the last. Cancel all engagements for these four days, prepare reception and advertising which will make the Manifesto the centre of public interest.

I am relying on the so far untapped resources of the groups to produce a demonstration which both by its inspiration and solid determination will make it one of the stepping stones to peace.

LATE NEWS: Full details of accommodation have just reached me for the summer conference at Colchester. I will outline these in detail next week.

Have you any

IDEAS FOR A TABLEAU?

The Huddersfield Group of the PPU intends to enter a wagon (perhaps two) in the procession at the local infirmity carnival. It is thought that readers might have some good suggestions to offer with regard to a tableau, which would convey the pacifist message to the ordinary "man-in-the-street."

Anyone who could assist in this matter should write to the secretary, G. Tattersall, 32 New Hey Road, Huddersfield. Promptness is essential, as the carnival takes place on July 2, and there is a good deal of work to be done.

NOW READY
"PEACE or WAR
BALANCED
ON A RAZOR EDGE"
WHY?

By Dr. SALTER

6d. per 100

5/- per 1,000

PLUS POSTAGE

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION
MANIFESTO

1/- per 100.

7/- per 1,000.

PLUS POSTAGE

MANIFESTO POSTER

30"×20"

2D. EACH

"THE PACIFIST FAITH
OF A SURGEON"

By Dr. D. A. CROW
(Capt. R.A.M.C.,

31st Field Ambulance,
Macedonia, 1915-17)

8 pages which you will not
read without resolving to
make more widely known

1d. PER COPY :: NO DISCOUNT

Telephone: REGent 2843

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WILL YOU?

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THE PROPAGANDA VALUE IS ENORMOUS

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JUNE 11th, 1938

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APPEALS
OR
APPALLS

IT'S WORTH YOUR WHILE TO
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Humorous—gently ironical—Candid and
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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN
DO NOT VISIT
THE DOCTOR
DENTIST
HAIRDRESSER

without leaving Peace Literature or
Leaflets behind—that "He who
comes may read."

Dear Sir . . .

"Plowman Pacifists"

WRITING in your issue of May 28 Margarette H. Bennett has raised a question which I feel sure is troubling many PPU groups, viz.: How a compromise can be effected between what she calls "Plowman" individualists and the "politicals"—meaning, I gather, on the one hand those who base their pacifism on inner spiritual values and are, as she says, "intent on their own personal pacifist purification," and, on the other, those who may or may not base their pacifism on "spiritual" values, but are intent upon making an impact on society by various propaganda methods.

I wonder if the difficulty is as insurmountable as it appears? If we can regard our activities as experiments in method toward a known end—the creation of a warless society—may we not find that what our friend calls "two almost incompatible alternatives" are after all not only compatible but need each other—in fact, that the spreading of pacifist propaganda, to be most effective, must be backed by "personal pacifist purification" and that "personal pacifist purification" is impossible without "willingness to surrender personal opinions," at least for the moment, in order to carry on the "experiment."

I suppose that I personally belong to the group that Margarette Bennett labels "politicals"; but though I know nothing of "spiritual" values, I have an "awareness of my environment" and agree that the sort of "training" which Gregg outlines and of which Gandhi is the great contemporary exponent may be essential to the development of "pacifist action." That you call it "personal pacifist purification" and I speak in terms of "reconditioned reflexes" seems to me to matter little at the moment. Christian or Atheist, "Plowman" pacifist or "political," let's co-operate in this experiment and get on with the job.

JOHN C. LEONARD.

17 Coles Lane, Sutton Coldfield.

RELIGION AND REALITY

May I say how glad I was to read Max Plowman's second article "Religion and Reality"? It seems as though we were one and all advancing to the verge of that "recognition of God in man," of which he speaks.

Dr. Jung of Zurich in his book *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* adduces interesting evidence of the same tendency, though owing to the word "God" having been so misused, he finds it necessary to call the great power within us the psyche. He shows how it heals mind and body, and gives harmony to a life: once, that is, a man has free access to the inner source of his power.

However we may name it, it is the same rich fact. It has been beckoning man all the time, but during these last two or three decades we have been so busy with surface activities that we have dammed up the vast uncharted oceans of power deep, deep down within each of us.

Most of us have enough common sense (if not psychology) to know what happens when pent-up energy becomes too repressed. On the one hand, it causes discomfort. On the other hand, it is likely that in spite of all repression and neglect, the unknown within us will break out so as to astonish us and coming generations, and we shall need then to know how to cooperate with it.

Modern man may have the reputation of refusing to imitate or learn from the past. Yet when the great moment of liberation does come to us and we awake from the nightmarish fears of aggression and so on, and wake up seeing God look out from the eyes of our so-called enemy; then, I suggest, overwhelmed by the blaze of that majesty and power, we may be glad to link up with those who have been through similar experiences.

F. H. FRANCIS.

"PATRIOTIC" MURDER

There was a phrase in *The Times*, in an account of the air displays, which says "hundreds of small boys must have clambered into cockpits and worked bomb release gear for the first time."

Granted that the children hardly knew what they were doing, yet the impression remains that murder may be regarded as the highest form of patriotism, and bombing as a high art to that end.

If this is to be the highest aim of youth in the future we shall neither deserve nor get peace. We condemn other nations' bombing practices as barbaric, and encourage our own lads along the same line.

T. S. PECKOVER.

Otterden, Kent.

The Lesson

I WAS pleased to read in PEACE NEWS (May 28) Michael O'Connor's letter and I quite agree with him that it is up to those who returned from the last hell to resist the "next" war in every way.

There are a good number of ex-Service men in the PPU. While at Swanwick Camp last year with the Peace Pledge Union I made the acquaintance of an ex-Service man who had served with the Canadian Forces.

I myself, being an old soldier, never feel afraid of wearing my badge (War—We say No). At the Birmingham Air Pageant I pinned my medals on and with a poster back and front with "War—We Say No!" I paraded with the PPU. I heard several comments passed, but it seems to me that this is the only way to drive it home to the public that we will never take part in another war.

There are no service medals, pensions, or promotion in the PPU, but there is always the joy of knowing that you are keeping faith with your comrades who gave their all in the belief that war should be a thing of the past, and that you are working for a cause which will save their sons undergoing the horrors they underwent.

E. S. DANES.

56 Kenwood Road, Bordesley Green East, Birmingham, 9.

A VISION

I have been studying the PPU Manifesto, with lights upon it from PEACE NEWS, and reading at the same time Bertrand Russell's wonderful book, *Which Way to Peace?* published in 1936; two years apart—yet from both a question and a dream arise in my mind.

Does the PPU put forward the social credit system, or other similar scheme, as part of its programme? I have not noticed this, though it may be included in the demand for an economic conference. But I am certain it is an essential step toward world peace.

Bertrand Russell sets forth a noble scheme for stripping ourselves of colonies. Why not persuade other great nations to share such action with us?

Here is the dream—seen in Africa. Britain has called a conference at Johannesburg.

AGENDA.

1. To consider how the various States of Africa could be governed by a central authority to the best advantage of their own native peoples.

2. If this primary discussion has not already elucidated this secondary point, it follows here:—

To consult how far European Powers who claim rights and property in Africa might still draw profit from them, without thereby injuring the prior rights of the Africans.

3. To envisage a just standard of monetary value, so as to liberate trade to the uttermost and thus blaze a trail for the world.

PERSONNEL.

Representatives of every nation that lays claim to territory in Africa, with an equal number of leading Africans and Boers; also representatives of religion and culture, of whatever race or colour, as assessors.

Does this fantasy convey any serious message?

IGNOTA.

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WRITE FOR OTHER LITERATURE
AND INFORMATION OF THE WORK.

Pile of Abandoned Arguments

I WOULD like to call the attention of fellow pacifists to the growing pile of abandoned arguments left by our opponents. Here are two examples:—

When British rearmament began we were assured by the Government that they had not abandoned the ideal of disarmament and that Britain's rearmament, like her tariffs, was merely for bargaining purposes. We were assured that the reason for the failure of the Disarmament Conference was that we had already disarmed so far that we had nothing left to bargain with. But now that we are rearming rapidly this goal recedes and the argument is abandoned.

In July 1937 Lord Halifax, preaching at St. Martin's, censured the pacifists, using the argument about the policeman, the bully and the child. But in Geneva not long ago he has been expounding a revised version of it under which the "policeman" is to be commended because he made terms with the bully at the expense of the child.

The stages are interesting. First the policeman threatens and speaks about law, but supplies petrol for the bully's motorcycle, and prevents the child from receiving weapons for self defence; then he irritates the bully and encourages the child to resist but keeps at a safe distance himself; then he watches the mutilation of the child with a fearful face; and finally insists that the child must be allowed to bleed to death to prevent giving offence to the bully while making a covenant of friendship and peace.

In all this, where is the moral indignation against the pacifists gone to?

I submit that Lord Halifax must be given another chance at St. Martin's.

BERTRAND J. COGGLE.

25 Bridgwater Road, Walkden,
near Manchester.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION

It can never be stressed too highly that to agitate for economic cooperation between nations is an integral part of the pacifist's duty.

This aim can only be fully realized, as far as we in this country are concerned, by persuading the Government to adopt a policy of cooperation. But it can be partly realized if pacifists and other workers for peace do what they can to organize relief for the depressed areas of less wealthy countries—those, for example, of Central Europe. This is a fact that seems to be largely neglected.

The relief being sent to China and Spain is emergency relief. But all the time there exist many other regions where there is pitiful poverty. If we pay income tax, we help the unemployed in our own country; the truly internationally minded should surely do as much again for the unemployed of other countries.

But what practical means exist for sending relief to the poverty-stricken abroad? I should be very glad if any of your readers can enlighten me on this point.

MICHAEL W. AITKEN.

34 Blackheath Park, S.E.3.

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED

Women volunteers are badly needed for work on the Children's Care Committees of the London County Council. In particular there is a small school at Brixton (St. John's, Angell Town) which needs a School Visitor immediately. Anyone who can spare half a day a week should communicate with Miss Faulkner, Flat 5, Rothesay Mansions, 300 Kennington Park Road, S.E.11.

BEATRICE BUCKLEY.

11 Portal Close, S.E.27.

Criticizing Air Raid Precautions

MAY I deprecate the prominence given in pacifist literature generally to criticizing the efficiency of ARP.

I do not doubt that the criticisms are justified, but do they strengthen the pacifist position? Their logical result will be to produce better gas-masks and bigger dug-outs, not bad things in themselves perhaps, but useless as preventives of war.

If I believed that "resort to arms" was righteous, I would not withdraw my support thereto because my gas-mask leaked, nor would I insult the young Britons of my acquaintance by dissuading them from joining up, because the bomber would always get through.

We are labelled as cowards in some quarters already. Need we lend colour to the libel by propaganda that appeals to fear? Our business is not to decry the inadequacy of ARP, but to remove the necessity for it.

D. S. BATLEY.

Mission House, Shikapur.

WORLD STATE NUCLEUS

As a regular reader of PEACE NEWS and recognizing the urgency of constructive work for peace, I very much regret the consistently nationalist line PEACE NEWS is taking. Continually such headings as "Need for British Lead for Peace," occur. But a lead that is nationalist will not help the world toward peace.

The lead wanted is one definitely not nationalist (since nation-state sovereignty is, politically, the cause of all the trouble), not drawing its support from people united by the comparative superficialities of language, race, and tradition, but united by the real bonds of unity of belief as to values—a broad-based unity of people of all races and nations who believe in a world order which shall serve mankind as a whole and so provide the true foundation for world peace.

That lead is ready, is being offered now, by the Regnega World State nucleus, which has its own law and government and invites individuals to transfer to it the allegiance they are now giving to nation-state governments, all of which are now following policies which lead to war.

Further information about the Regnega World State nucleus may be had from Regnega Chambers, Old Foundry Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.

C. D. GALLIFANT.

6 Heol Goffa, Llanelly, Carmarthenshire.

Prestige & Blackmail

PRESTIGE has little to do with moral qualities. The prestige of a country is not held, diplomatically, to be high if it only tells the truth, and keeps its promises and treats the weak humanely.

Prestige, as Mr. Baldwin has said, depends on whether a country has "behind it the strength to command respect and attention." In other words high explosives, vesicants and incendiary bombs, with enough young men willing to drop them on cities and civilian populations.

Not a very winsome attribute this prestige, nor, one would have supposed, very easy to reconcile with the professions of Christian churches. I suggest that, this being so, the possession of prestige should disqualify a Power from being considered civilized, exactly in proportion to the amount of prestige possessed. She "commands respect" by blackmail and no-one holds blackmail respectable.

—Mrs. H. M. Swanwick.

Collective Insecurity.

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THE Peace Pledge Union group at Wallington, Surrey, have persuaded the holder of a newspaper stall to sell PEACE NEWS and display the posters, with the result shown above.

PARS for the PLATFORM

Tell him of our Rearmament

WHEN horror was expressed in Parliament, on Monday of last week, at the bombing of civilians in Spain and China, Mr. George Lansbury brought MPs to reality by asking:—

Does the Prime Minister consider that either side, either in Spain or China, will take much notice of our protests against this sort of warfare seeing that Great Britain and all the great Powers are feverishly struggling to prepare even worse and more foul and vile outrages against civilian populations should war break out? (Hear, hear.)

The Prime Minister replied: "I do not accept that view."

Not What He Meant

THE following extracts from *The Nation*, of June 2, 1917, have proved even truer than the writer probably imagined:

"The only efficient answer to aeroplanes is other aeroplanes, and it is the appreciation of this fact which has led Germany to adopt the new tactics. For it is evident that the attack on Folkestone will be only the beginning of a series of raids which may reach undreamed-of proportions, and achieve results which at this moment seem unimaginable. . . .

"If we undertake bold and repeated raids into Germany we shall produce the exact position the Germans are endeavouring to bring about by their raids in England. We shall force them to act on the defensive, and we shall secure the additional advantage of the damage we inflict on military centres."

Stating Facts

IN view of the present interest in the vital question of colonies, the following quotation from *The Indian Outlook*, a volume by W. E. S. Holland, published in 1926 by the Church Missionary Society, is interesting:

We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said at missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as the outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by the sword, and by the sword we should hold it. (Shame.) Call it shame if you like. I am stating facts. I am interested in missionary work in India and have done much work of that kind, but I am not such a hypocrite as to say we hold India for the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general, and for Lancashire cotton goods in particular. (Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, Home Secretary. Quoted in *The Indian Social Reformer*, November 28, 1925, a weekly paper edited by a Hindu.)

This appears in a footnote on page 157 of the volume referred to above; in the appendix appears the following:—

We came as traders and adventurers, spurred on by our desires and wishing to make money. We were, against our will, drawn into politics and wars, and found ourselves appealed to on every side in the excitements and emergencies of turbulent times. In the end we found ourselves rulers of the country, and realized that we had been used for a higher purpose than our own.

We then began to talk about moral mission, and there is no doubt that we ended by thoroughly boring our audience. Nothing so infuriates the average Indian as the self-complacent Englishman's talk about his moral mission. That, however, does not alter the fact that we have been used to render services to India. (*Statesman* (India), leading article, April 9, 1925.)

Diary of the Week

(Latest time to receive notices, MONDAY MORNING.)

June

- 11 (Sat.) GRAVESEND; 3 p.m., 70 Old Road; garden party; G. R. Croft (opener); admission by programme, 6d.; PPU & International Friendship League.
- BUSHEY HEATH; 3 p.m. "Eothen"; R. H. Ward at garden meeting; PPU.
- WELWYN GARDEN CITY; 3.30 p.m. 28 High Oaks Road; garden party; address by John Barclay; PPU.
- BROMLEY; 4 p.m. YWCA, 13 London Road, Roy Walker at garden meeting; PPU.
- BOURNEMOUTH; 5.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; poster parade; PPU.
- KEIGHLEY; 7 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, Skipton Road; meet for poster parade; PPU.
- EPING; 8 p.m. The Green, opposite Methodist Church, High Road; open-air meeting (if wet in the Methodist Church); Dr. Donald Soper & Canon Stuart Morris; PPU.
- 12 (Sun.) GLASGOW; 11.15 a.m. 100 West Regent Street; A. B. Mackay on "This Racial Ramp"; Study Circle.
- OTLEY; 7.30 p.m. Market Place; open-air meeting; Bradford PPU.
- HAYWARDS HEATH; 8 p.m. Perry-mount Library; discussion on "Current Affairs"; PPU.
- NORBURY; 8.30 p.m. Downsview Methodist Church; open-air meeting followed by film show of *Kameradschaft* and shorts; PPU.
- 14 (Tues.) CARDIFF; 6.30 p.m. 11 Gordon Road; Welsh meeting; Rev. Myrddin Davies and Rev. Gwilym Bowyer on "Christian Pacifism"; PPU.
- STAMFORD; 7.30 p.m. Assembly Rooms; Canon Stuart Morris and Miss Mary Gamble; PPU and For. (Particulars from Guy Metcalf, Main Road, Easton, near Stamford.)
- BLACKHEATH; 8 p.m. All Saints' Parish Hall; Miss S. M. Morrison on "Non-Violence"; PPU.
- HAMPSTEAD; 8.15 p.m. Congregational Church Hall, Avenue Road, Swiss Cottage; debate: Miss E. Thorneycroft (PPU) and Mr. W. Farrell, (Hampstead Labour Party) "That Collective Security is not a Safeguard of Peace."
- 14-16 (Tues.-Thurs.) LONDON, W.C.1; 10.30 a.m.-1 p.m. & 2.15-5.30 p.m.; YWCA Central Club, Great Russell Street; "Women Plan for Peace, Prosperity, and Progress"; annual conference, British Commonwealth League. (See page 5.)
- 15 (Wed.) HANWELL; 8 p.m. Committee Room, Public Library; Roy Walker on ARP; PPU.
- WINCHMORE HILL; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Church Hill; Mr. Nii-Amaa Ollennu on "Present-day conditions in West Africa"; LNU.
- 15-21 (Wed.-Thurs.) SCARBOROUGH; 47 St. Thomas Street (opposite Opera House); peace shop; PPU.
- 16 (Thurs.) LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; J. Middleton Murry on "The Price of Peace"; City PPU group.
- LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; representative from Guild of Insurance Officials on "Insuring against Risk of Air Raids"; City PPU group.
- BURNLEY; 7.30 p.m. Market Place; open air meeting; PPU.
- OXFORD; 8 p.m. New Road Baptist Schoolroom; John Barclay; PPU.
- 17 (Fri.) LONDON, N.W.1; 3 p.m. and 5.45 p.m., Friends' House, Euston Road; Professor Brodetsky, Mr. Musa Hussein, Dr. A. Maude Royden, Mrs. Joyce Pollard and Rev. Henry Carter; The Peace Army.
- 17-19 (Fri.-Sun.) WREXHAM; YWCA Hut, Argyle Street; weekend school for Wales; PPU. Particulars from J. Manford Jones, N.P. Bank House, Wrexham.

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MEETINGS, &c.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union). A Fellowship Hour, for communion with God and each other, is held the third Monday in each month, from 6 to 7 p.m., at 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1. The leader on June 20 will be Rev. Bryan Reed, B.D.

LOUDER THAN WORDS!

From an advertiser's letter:—

... as we were fully booked. The most delightful guests we have had have come through you and some have become personal friends.

I have just realized with a shock that there is only just time to get one in this week's issue to be in time for Whitsun. . . .

May 26.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION

New Signatures to the Peace Pledge—

Will Group Leaders receiving these please check that they are **LEGIBLE and COMPLETE** before passing them on to Headquarters?

COMING SHORTLY

- June
- 24-28 (Fri.-Tues.) CAMBRIDGE; Regent House; week-end congress; details from the Secretary, World Congress of Faiths, 36 Victoria Street, S.W.1.
 - 25 (Sat.) SHEFFIELD; Apperknowle; one-day school; Wilfred Wellock; PPU.

POLITICAL

PACIFISTS who want political action should join the People's Peace Front. Particulars from Secretary, 17 Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1.

RELIGIOUS

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

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AS PLANNED BY DICK SHEPPARD. Celebrations of the Holy Communion take place in the Crypt of St. Paul's every Wednesday at 7.45 a.m., when prayers are offered for the renunciation of war and for those engaged in the peace movement.

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Parliamentary Notes

BOMBERS, CONSCRIPTION, AND THE WAY OUT

THE House of Commons has again had to face the continuing outrage of the bombing plane. In Canton and in Spain civilians have died like flies under this merciless flail of modern war. Parliament has alternated between horror and helplessness.

Hundreds of innocent people were wiped out in Alicante in a few minutes. Why, the Prime Minister was asked, did he not protest? So, next day, the Prime Minister did protest. But what then?

The *Manchester Guardian* asked: Is the British Government prepared to do all it can to ensure that this protest has some genuine effect? What genuine effect a perplexed Parliament ought to ensure, and how it ought to ensure it, the newspaper did not dare to suggest.

Mr. Chamberlain's Admission

Mr. Morgan Jones returned to his query, first asked by him a fortnight ago, as to what the Government had done to secure an international agreement to stop the bombs falling on civilians.

Mr. Chamberlain said this country had not yet finished its own survey of the problem, so, naturally, was not in any position to say anything about it to other countries.

If it were not for the sheer tragedy of the thing, one would say that this was one of Mr. Chamberlain's rare jokes. This country has acquired enough experience of bombing in Iraq, and on the North West Frontier. Surely if after this we are still not in any position to offer practical suggestions for the obviation of bombing outrages on civilians, then equally, the Prime Minister is on no very strong ground for protesting to Franco and Japan.

It is not the plain truth—and does not every party in the House of Commons know it—that the great fleet of bombers which we have created and are hastening still further to strengthen, cannot, when war comes, score bull's eyes on fortifications and munition factories? Even if a bomb ever can be dropped according to the rules of gentlemanly conduct, wars usually get out of hand; and the rules are forgotten. Like the rain, bombs are then sent to fall on the just and the unjust.

In any case, however discriminating the bombers of a future European war will prove in their targets, it would pass the wit of man to say what part of the population in the next war was civilian, and what part was not. Are we not all to be regimented into our places in the next war?

Mr. George Lansbury asked the Prime Minister whether either side in Spain or China would take much notice of our protest against the bombers when we ourselves were feverishly struggling so as to be ready for fouler and viler outrages against civilian populations.

Military Objects Only

Mr. Chamberlain said he didn't accept that view. Apparently he hugs the belief once propounded by Mr. Churchill that in war our bombers bomb only military objectives.

But Mr. Chamberlain's flights into the imaginative when confronted by plain fact are becoming notorious. He was asked on Tuesday what Sir Thomas Inskip said on Monday about conscription. Sir Thomas had listened to Mr. Chuter Ede who stated that there was "a Conscription Act in existence ready to

put everybody into his proper niche" in the emergency of the next war.

"I don't think Sir Thomas will deny that," said Mr. Ede. On the contrary, Sir Thomas jumped up to say: "I have said so as plainly as I can."

But the plain declarations of Sir Thomas, like the intentions of the bombers, are for the Prime Minister a matter of speculation.

When Mr. Wedgwood Benn told him on Wednesday that Sir Thomas had "stated that there was a Conscription Act in draft," the Prime Minister bluntly replied: "He did not say anything of the kind."

It is not without significance that the Prime Minister's denial should have been reported on the same day as the equally blunt rejection by the Engineers' Union of the Government's request for cooperation in the carrying out of the armaments programme.

The engineers do not trust the Government and said so. It is not a question that they hold at present any sort of pacifist convictions.

But they are beginning to realize that high-sounding patriotic phrases are capable of concealing heavy draughts on the essential liberties of the working people, and that the denials of Prime Ministers have little relation to the facts.

The Government too were clearly aware that they were being found out. Thus, on the day after the Prime Minister had denied the existence of a Conscription Act, he got up again to assert that what Sir Thomas Inskip meant to say was that there were no plans for "the conscription of man power" generally and that a draft Bill existed for compulsory military service only in the event of war.

The Prime Minister was also careful to add that the allied question of the conscription of wealth did not, in his opinion, arise. But whether his opinion was worth much will be judged by the fact that the Prime Minister of New Zealand was asserting in the same week that no conscription of the lives of New Zealand men for war would be assented to by his Government until private wealth had been compelled also to put itself under the control and for the use of the State.

Whatever be our conjectures concerning the precise value to be placed by the engineers or by the general public on the Prime Minister's undertaking

against industrial conscription, this at least can now be taken for certain; that every MP who now urges this Government into war-like measures for Spain, China, Czechoslovakia, democracy, collective security, or for any other purpose is asking for the calling up as a military conscript of every man who cannot shelter himself in a scheduled job.

That will, at least, bring one touch of realism into a good deal of the nebulous and unthinking support of claims for a war for collective security.

Mr. Lansbury Spoke Out

Mr. Churchill had trumpeted abroad his intention to use the debate on the adjournment for Whitsun in order to raise again the Ministry of Supply issue. Fortunately parliamentary rules were against him and the time was much better spent by Mr. Lansbury.

Speaking for the pacifists with whom he was associated, as well as for his constituents, Mr. Lansbury said, the House was particularly unanimous that if the arms they were preparing were ever used, it would be the end of civilization.

Ultimately, he said, peace could only be maintained when nations were willing to cooperate in sharing raw materials, territories, and markets.

The Van Zeeland Report ought not to be allowed to rot in the Government archives. There was no way out unless nations, especially our own, offered unselfish assistance to the other nations which so much needed it.

Mr. Lansbury was well supported by Mr. Arthur Henderson and Mr. T. E. Harvey. But the Government was unmoved. Mr. Butler, the Under Foreign Secretary, assured Mr. Lansbury that the dust had not accumulated yet on the Van Zeeland Report. Someone, therefore, is reading it. With what profit may be judged from the following priceless reply of Mr. Butler to Mr. Lansbury's appeal for more unselfishness: "The activity of the Government has been prompted by a realization of the present position of international trade and the wish to meet it by the natural instinct of looking after our own interests."

James H. Hudson

NEWS OF NOTE THIS WEEK

CRITICAL YEAR?

The French Government is planning to have a first-line strength of 2,600 machines (of which 900 would be fighters) by April, 1940. In several quarters in recent weeks it has been alleged that Germany would not be ready to engage in a major war until 1940.

PARIS-MOSCOW AXIS

If and when the French Government succeeds in coming to an agreement with Italy it seems that her alliance with Russia will not be thereby broken. M. Bonnet is believed to have told the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber on Thursday of last week that the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs had expressed to the French Ambassador in Moscow his good wishes for the success of the conversations between France and Italy. It was hoped by M. Bonnet that Italo-French conversations would be resumed soon.

AID FOR REFUGEES

Ambitious plans for assisting refugees from Central Europe are attributed to the United States Administration. The immigration quota is not to be altered, but financial assistance is to be arranged so that refugees will not become chargeable to public funds.

NORWAY CLAIMS NEUTRALITY

Another blow at the ruins of the edifice of collective security was struck last week when the Norwegian Parliament decided unanimously to insist on Norway's right to maintain complete neutrality in any war resulting from League action which she does not approve.

FRENCH SOCIALISTS SPLIT

The French Socialist Party is in the throes of a split between those who want to come to an understanding with the totalitarian States, and those whose anti-fascism is of the militant variety, which will have "no truck with dictators." A friendly reception was given to a Deputy who advocated the former course

at the party congress on Monday, while no applause greeted his opponent.

A compromise resolution, put forward by M. Blum and adopted, vaguely expressed a "desire for peace with the totalitarian Powers."

BRITAIN'S PREPARATIONS

What *The Times* called "another important aspect of passive defence plans" was discussed in Parliament on Thursday when the Essential Commodities Reserves Bill had a second reading. In this matter the Government is really planning against the possibility of a "knock-out" from an unexpected first blow, for Mr. Oliver Stanley declared the policy of storage "was designed only as a protection against any temporary interruption of imports or dislocation of food distribution, and that our main object must be to maintain our food supplies by keeping command of the seas."

The "passive defence" is thus but a prelude to active offence, for which, on the same day, Parliament received a bill for £2,410,500 "on account," in the shape of a supplementary Navy Estimate.

NEW I.L.O. DIRECTOR

Mr. John Gilbert Winant, of the USA, was appointed Director of the International Labour Organization on Saturday in succession to Mr. Harold Butler, who has just resigned. Mr. Winant was an Assistant Director. Mr. E. J. Phelan, of Eire, another former Assistant Director, has been appointed Deputy Director, a post that has been revived by the Governing Body.

The British employers' delegate and British workers' delegate abstained from voting when Mr. Winant's election took place on the ground that his nomination had been made by the delegates of the governments, and was therefore not really the result of a free choice by the Governing Body.

The Robot Knew

WE mingled with the holiday crowd in the fair ground at Portsmouth and came across Bonzo the Robot, an electrical machine whose abilities were entertainingly displayed by its owner.

We paused, interested. The owner went among the audience pointing to various oddments such as dolls, scarves, medals, &c., and the machine correctly stated the name of the article chosen.

The man came up to my friend and, pointing to his Peace Pledge Union badge, said "What is this?" "A badge," answered the machine. "What colour is it?" "Green," came the reply. "What are the initials?" "PPU" spelt out Bonzo.

Here I saw my chance and asked the man to inquire of Bonzo what the initials PPU represented. The owner did not know himself, so we told him, and then the machine spelt out the word "peace."

Thus our vital message was delivered in one word to a holiday crowd of fifty or so who, perhaps, had not yet heard of the great pacifist movement. J.D.

We Must Have "Truck" with Dictators

—LABOUR M.P.

WHILE detesting the idea that one man could do the political thinking for millions of others, Mr. Rhys Davies, Labour M.P. for Westhoughton, when addressing a meeting recently in connexion with the Leeds Peace Week, said he was disappointed with the notion put forward today that we must not have any trucking with the dictatorships when talking about peace.

"I decline to join those who want to divide Europe into one block of democracies against another of dictators," he continued, "because once that is done there will be war straight away."

"I decline to believe that you can have peace without accepting the systems of government that exist in the world at the present time. I detest the idea that any nation by any means, should try to interfere in the domestic affairs of another country."

Mr. Davies declared his support for the League of Nations and disagreed with complaints that the League had not achieved what ought to have been achieved during its existence.

"It still holds the field," he said, "that you have got to alter the minds and hearts of men and women in any society before you can abolish war, because war starts from the minds and hearts of people."

Dealing with political and economic considerations, Mr. Davies believed the kernel of the matter was to be found in the Van Zeeland Report; he thought that statesmen, including those of Great Britain, were more aware of the raw materials problem than was generally supposed.

"Convention" in Kent

Three resolutions similar to those moved at the conventions of the Parliamentary Pacifist Group will be discussed at two public meetings to be held in the Cooperative Hall, High Street, Ashford, on June 18, organized by the East Kent region of the Peace Pledge Union. The first meeting will commence at 3.15 p.m., tea will be at 5.15 p.m., and the final meeting at 6.30 p.m.

Copies of the resolutions may be obtained from the secretary, H. Barker, "Harbre," Canterbury Road, Kennington, Ashford, Kent.

Amendments have to be received by Mr. Barker by Wednesday.

WOODFORD PEACE DAY

Next Saturday will be Peace Day at Woodford, and it will be marked by a big open-air meeting at Woodford Green which Wilfred Wellock and Dr. A. Herbert Gray will address. It has been organized by the PPU and will begin at 7.30 p.m.

PEACE NEWS

June 11, 1938

"Sweet are the uses of"—

ADVERTISEMENT

Experts Try Their Hand at War Hysteria

'SELLING' THE ARMY
by APPEALS to FEAR

WE have not yet experienced a really modern and up-to-date war hysteria. Advertisers, however, live on hysteria; it is a tap that they are always ready to turn on, in the most skilled way possible, whether in the cause of patent medicines, tooth pastes, or vitamin foods.

For the good advertising man if war comes, hatred of the enemy will be just one more mass emotion to be stimulated by the methods that have proved so great a power in commerce.

In the June number of *Scribners Magazine* we are given a sample of what we may expect, in four advertisements prepared by some of the most skilled advertising men in America.

TO BREAK RESISTANCE

Their purpose is to call for volunteers. "Not," it is shrewdly remarked, "that the Government counts on filling the ranks with volunteers. . . . But the call for volunteers does have the important psychological effect of breaking down resistance to conscription."

One decency only is observed, and that in a strange manner. No enemy is named, but, "as our contribution to international harmony we have worked on the assumption that war was being fought against the yellow race."

Here is the first result of this "serious effort by experienced advertising men." It is attached to a dramatic picture in red and black of a soldier stabbing with a bayonet through barbed wire:

LISTEN, YELLOW DOGS . . .

We think America is the greatest country in the world. We love our homes and we love our families.

And if you think we're going to let you take it all . . . if you think we'll stand by while you lay lustful hands on our wives and sweethearts and sisters . . . then you're crazy!

FEMININE TOUCH

A reminder follows that America has never lost a war. Then:

Let's show 'em who's yellow and who isn't. There's a uniform your size waiting for you—and a straight-shooting Yankee rifle that'll fit snug against your shoulder.

"Serious effort" No. 2 is a picture sequence about Johnny, whose girl wouldn't make any more dates with him. Johnny's father understands: "Fine girls like Mary like real men."

So Johnny joins the army, gets his uniform, and Mary says: "I never saw anyone look so mavourneous. You won't have to bother to ask for dates now. I'll ask you!"

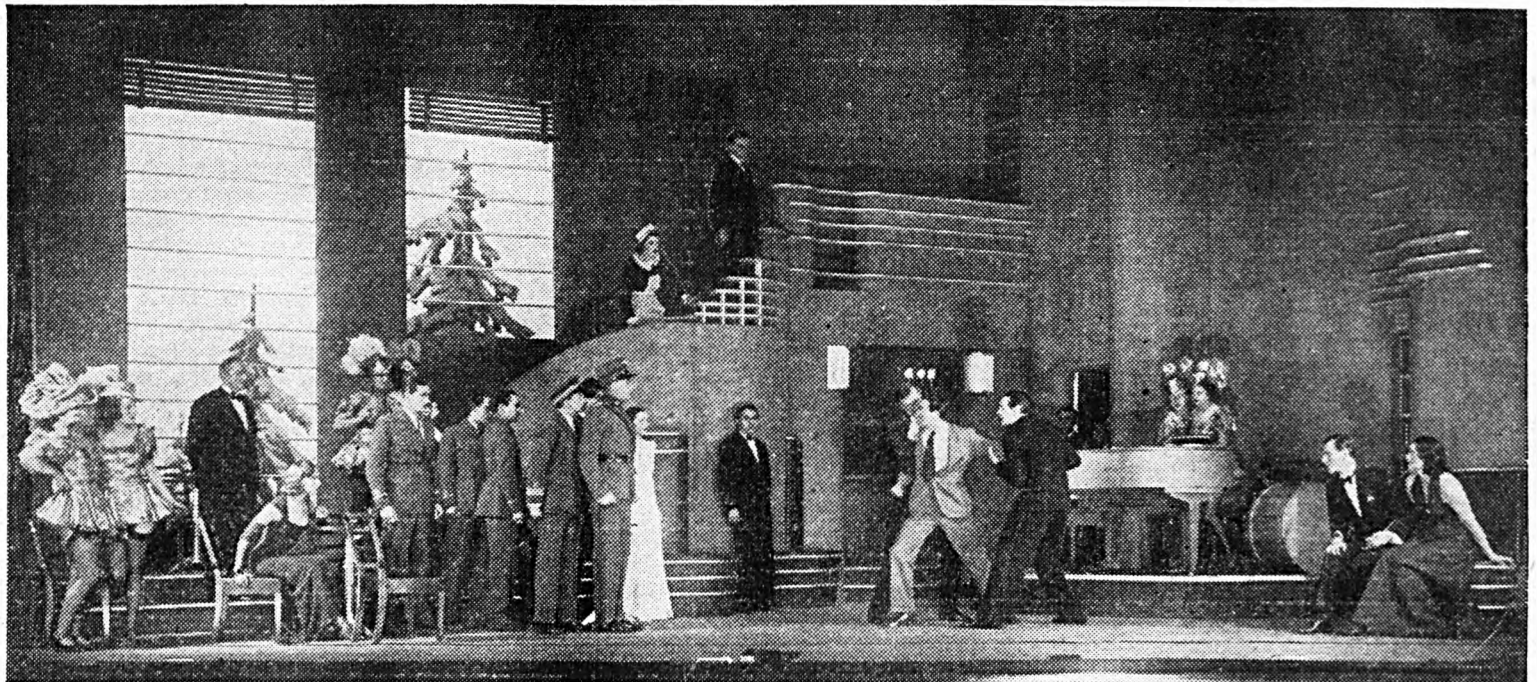
The third effort reaches an even lower level. A shuddering girl is threatened by a green hand (not pyorrhoea this time):

Will the yellow hand of lust fall roughly on the white shoulder of your sister? . . . if yellow feet ever reach American soil, yellow hands will clutch American women! Will that happen? That's largely up to you and the other red-blooded young men of America.

These advertisements give a terrible foretaste of a possible future. If they are to be laughed at, it is not humorously, for their perfection in lay-out and printing gives them a realism that could not be equalled by any hasty cartoon or satiric description.

They are what the ordinary, decent man has got to face and resist if he is to keep his soul alive.

Modern commercial advertising has been training him for many years not to resist.



Carl Jaffi as the French pacifist who is arrested and shot in *Idiot's Delight*

AT LAST THE THEATRE HAS WOKEN UP

By Philip L. Lorraine

WE live in an age of paradox. While Westminster is carefully contriving to pick our pockets in order to fill our arsenals with the machines of war, the West End is cheerfully planning to empty them in order to fill our minds with the propaganda of peace. The last few weeks have seen no fewer than six productions on the London stage which deal exclusively with the problems of war and peace. Four of these are still running, one is the outstanding success of the year, and the sixth, *Power and Glory* (Savoy) was only reluctantly withdrawn because of the illness of the star actor, Oscar Homolka.

To those who have long regarded the theatre as catering only for tired business men and nitwits, this is extremely gratifying. For the theatre has at last woken up. It has begun to grapple with the problems of everyday life—to reflect the opinions of the age.

To those who believe in the power of the theatre to influence public opinion—totalitarian governments have realized this years ago—it comes like a breath of fresh air in the midst of the sultry atmosphere of international affairs.

A REVELATION

To the theatre managers in their unending quest for what the public wants, it has come as a revelation. Only unselfish idealists like Miss Nancy Price at the Playhouse or inspired amateur groups can dare to put on what they feel the public ought to have.

From the popular aspect there is no doubt at all that *Idiot's Delight* at the Apollo is the most successful. It is topical, it is brilliantly acted, it is first-class entertainment, and its propaganda is implicit rather than explicit.

Union Calls for Arms Conference

Condemning the air raid precautions scheme as ineffective "while the Government continues its policy of arming," the annual conference of the National Union of Clerks, held in Leicester on Tuesday, called for an all-nations conference to consider the abolition of armaments and the international control of colonies.

"The object of air raid precautions," Mr. R. Barber, of Bradford declared, "is to create a war psychology. When that has been created we will have the people following the drum as they did in 1914."

The conference congratulated the AEU on its recent stand and called on the TUC to refuse cooperation with the Government while its policy remained on the present lines.

This is rather important. For the public prefers entertainment to education. And it is better to impregnate it slowly with the germs of truth than to ram it forcibly down its throat.

For those who go to the theatre for its intellectual appeal rather than its soporific effect, there is nothing more satisfying than *The Insect Play* at the Playhouse. Its indictment of human life and behaviour, its admirable common sense, its exposure of modern society are unanswerable. Particularly grim and ominously reminiscent seems the battle scene at the end, made all the more exciting and interesting by brilliant production.

The Green Table, which the Ballet Jooss are presenting nightly in their very short season at the Old Vic is a masterpiece of satire, exquisitely performed with a precision of detail and a finely balanced sense of humour which cannot fail to capture the interest of anyone, whether they are balletomane, peace-lover, or not.

From the opening scene round the council table to the final retreat with the triumphant figure of Death leading, the ballet is so vivid and arresting that the unnatural hush which preceded the vociferous applause at the end, was some indication of the depth to which the sentiment had penetrated the fashionable first-night audience. It is gratifying to note that this ballet has been given nearly 800 times, and that it won an international prize in Paris in 1932.

TOLLER'S SATIRE

Bury the Dead, which the Unity Theatre Club has been performing to crowded houses of its own members, is American, frankly propagandist, and Left-wing. Its theme of the six American soldiers who get killed in the War and refuse to lie down in their graves is treated with a competence and vigour which is beginning to be expected from these actors. But I feel that the play was more interesting as a reflection of the views of the particular audience, than for any latent dramatic merit.

On the other hand *No More Peace*, by Ernst Toller, which the Tavistock Players have given at their own theatre, is more palatable. It is a delightful joke tinged with the satire of which Toller is a master, slightly exaggerated by a rather slapstick production. But because of the stern reality of the present situation, it is a joke which we feel we can hardly enjoy.

How Britain Can Help India

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

THE pressure of the movement for liberty in India is at present overwhelming," said Dr. G. S. Arundale, speaking at a lunch-hour meeting in Friends House, Euston Road, London, on Tuesday.

Dr. Arundale has been in India for some thirty years, and as Education Minister of a State, and President of various Madras trade unions, has intimate knowledge of the common people of the country.

India, he said, was an array of problems. The solution to the political problem—autonomy—was the most advanced. The Government of India had not only changed very rapidly, but it had changed even more in attitude than in form. If one went at all behind the scenes of the Government it was impossible not to realize that there was an intention on the part of Great Britain to hasten India's movement into freedom.

He agreed with the Congress in its opposition to the federal scheme, but he had reason to believe that it was not going to be pushed—at least for many years.

Political growth, unfortunately, was ahead of educational growth, but in this field schemes were being considered.

A GREAT CULTURE

Dr. Arundale was particularly concerned to stress the importance and value of Indian culture.

Speaking as one who loved both his own country and India, he said that he believed the British Empire depended for its continued existence upon a free India, and he believed that things were going to be well. All he would like would be that India should work perhaps a little harder for her freedom, and that Great Britain should be a little more understanding.

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